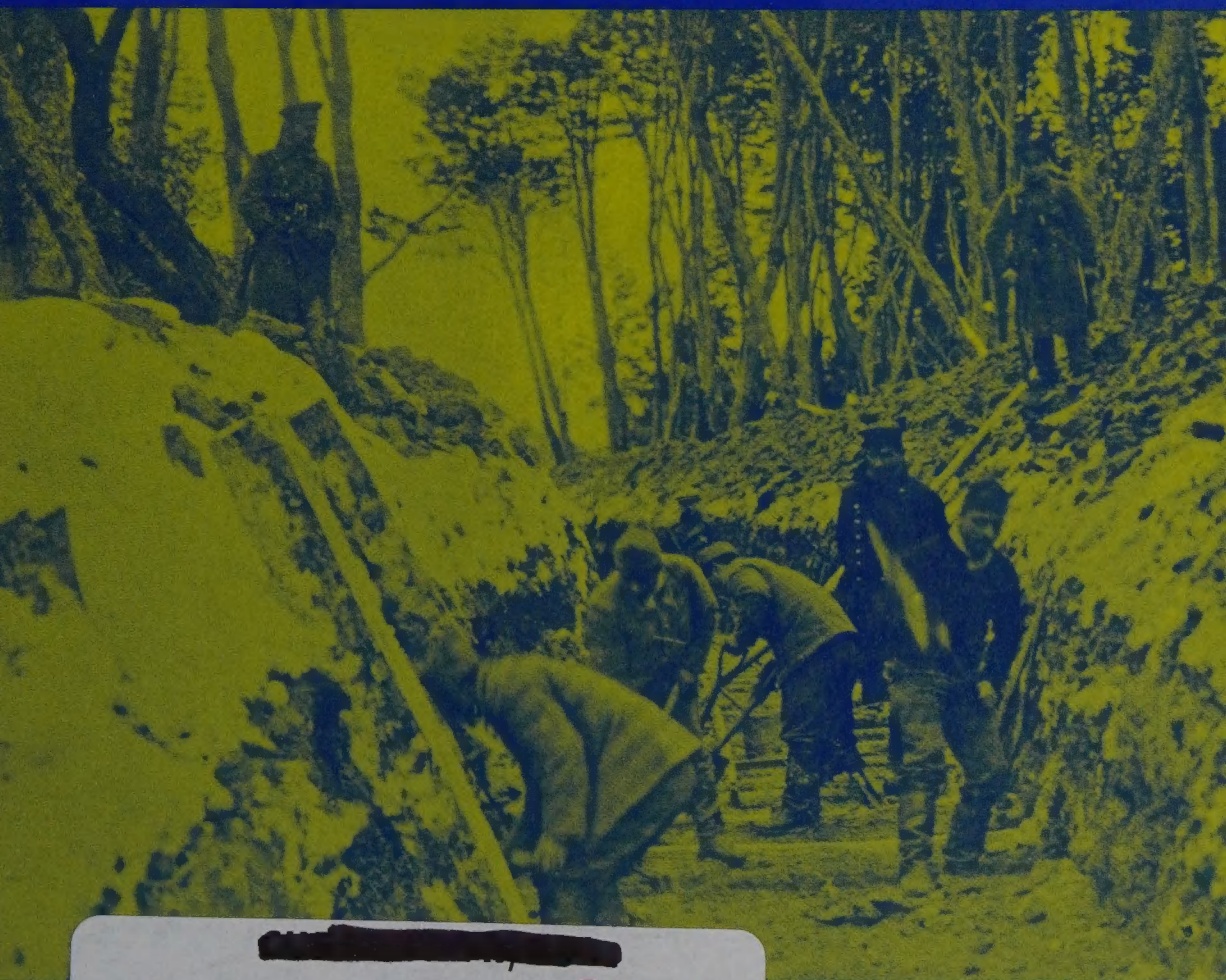


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The “Little Doctrine” and Indigenous Catechesis in New Spain

Louise M. Burkhart

This essay traces the colonial history of a text that I will call the “Little Doctrine.” This designation is both descriptive and appropriate, for some of the text’s manifestations are titled *doctrina pequeña* or, in Nahuatl, *tepiton teotlahtolli*, “little sacred speech.” The Little Doctrine is a list of questions and answers, 17 to 29 in number, intended to encapsulate key points of Christianity in a manner suited to people of limited education. The text could also be called the “Castaño catechism,” as most versions derive from the 24-question *Catecismo breve de lo que precisamente debe saber el cristiano* that Jesuit father Bartolomé Castaño published in 1644. However, the Little Doctrine predates Castaño’s publication and undergoes many permutations independent of that work.

Because the Little Doctrine circulated in at least 11 indigenous languages, it opens a window onto a widespread catechetical practice, revealing clergymen’s diminishing expectations regarding indigenous Christianity and native people’s experience with Christian teachings. Of particular interest, however, is the Little Doctrine’s incorporation into pictographic catechisms (or Testerian

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standard component of the colony's doctrinal literature. In the second half of the paper I examine the text's adaptation into pictures, especially pictographic versions made by Nahuas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. I argue that the pictographic catechisms should be understood as a deliberate archaizing practice among later colonial indigenous elites aimed at recovering certain aspects of the pre-Columbian and early colonial past for the performance of an indigenous Christian identity.

Doctrine and Performance

Four points about catechetical practice in New Spain should be made at the outset. The first is that indigenous people, regardless of their piety, had a stake in knowing the basic catechism and were pressured to do so. Children were taught these texts, and adults were obliged to participate in weekly recitations directed by their priest or their *fiscal*, the indigenous church official who oversaw a large part of community religious life, especially in communities with no resident priest.² The most important items were the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed, and the Salve Regina. Next in importance were the Ten Commandments, the five Commandments of the Church, the fourteen Articles of Faith, and the General Confession. Doctrinal handbooks present other enumerated lists: the seven sacraments, the seven mortal sins, the fourteen works of mercy, and the seven virtues opposed to the mortal sins, as well as the four cardinal and three theological virtues, the eight beatitudes, the nine ways to counteract venial sins, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the five senses, the three powers of the soul, and the three enemies of the soul. Other prayers, blessings, and explanatory texts could also be included.³

Although local practices varied, a person might be called on to recite components of doctrine when seeking to marry, baptize a child, sponsor godchildren, take Communion, or confess—a sacrament that sermons, morality plays, and the Commandments of the Church all insisted was vital.⁴ Reciting

Diccionario de los catecismos, 17; Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs*, Bernand, *Teotl*, 18, 23; Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 78–80; Gaillemín, "A la recherche," 179, 181, 194; Gaillemín, "Images mémorables," 207; Christensen, *Nahua and Maya Catholicisms*, 22–23.

2. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, 240.

3. Fray Alonso de Molina's 1546 doctrinal handbook, no longer extant but preserved in a later transcription, is a good example of an early and model *doctrina*. It can be found in García Icazbalceta, *Códice franciscano*, 29–54.

4. Confession manuals and manuals for administration of the sacraments provide examples of this sort of testing. To give just two examples, don Bartolomé de Alva's confession manual quizzes the penitent regarding the four major prayers and the Articles

the Apostles' Creed could help to deflect suspicions of idolatry.⁵ Failure to attend lessons and recitations could be punished with lashes administered by either indigenous officials or Catholic priests.⁶

A second and related point concerns the centrality of oral performance to the indigenous experience of Christianity. Adults could spend an hour or two a week, and children hours daily, performing these texts aloud, sometimes in song, sometimes while walking in procession. For many people, this would have accounted for much of the time they devoted to formal Christian religious activity. To be Christian meant that one participated in group and individual recitations of a small set of sanctioned texts.

A third point is that these texts were fixed and inflexible. The wording of native-language translations varied more than that of Latin and Spanish models, but there could be little variation from whatever version of the catechism was in local use. People had to recite not their own oral variant of a traditional text but a particular wording committed to memory. The texts included many Spanish terms and preserved sixteenth-century speech forms that, over time, became outmoded.⁷

Fourth, these memorized texts affected how people talked outside the churchyard. The impact of catechistic language on native usage more generally has been masterfully elucidated, in the case of Yucatec Maya, by William Hanks. Words and phrases of the catechism became so familiar that they permeated other speech contexts.⁸ Similar studies on other languages would most likely find parallel results.

of Faith, while Fray Manuel Pérez suggests that priests take "special caution" to ensure that prospective godparents can recite the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Alva, *Guide to Confession*, 71; Pérez, *Farol indiano*, 13.

5. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, 240.

6. Hanks, *Converting Words*, 64, 72; García Icazbalceta, *Códice franciscano*, 59. In 1570, clergy reported local catechetical practices to Archbishop Alonso de Montúfar; this report can be found in García Pimentel, *Descripción del arzobispado*. For example, Pedro de Salamanca, reporting on Atlapulco and surrounding communities, states that any Indian who fails to attend catechism lessons on Sundays and feast days "is humanely punished." García Pimentel, *Descripción del arzobispado*, 234. During the Bourbon era, priests' authority to whip parishioners was the subject of much controversy, but in practice many priests continued to regard their indigenous charges as too obstinate or ignorant to be controlled without the use of force. See Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred*, 215–16.

7. Rarely, a priest deliberately published in the spoken Nahuatl of his day, as Mark Christensen notes of Gerónimo Tomás de Aquino Cortés y Zedeño's 1765 confession manual. Christensen, *Nabua and Maya Catholicisms*, 29–30.

8. Hanks, *Converting Words*.

Nothing necessitated that catechists teach a list of questions extraneous to the canonical set of prayers and lists. Yet the Little Doctrine would become such a common element of catechismal performance that it merits attention: many people spoke these words, in many languages. For many people, especially commoners and rural people, this text sums up what they knew of Catholic theology. Being able to answer its questions helped them pass as adequately Christian.

The Origin of the Little Doctrine

The presentation of catechistic material in a question-and-answer format entered widespread usage in sixteenth-century Europe as humanists revived the classical pedagogical technique of questioning students rather than dictating to them.⁹ When the friars in New Spain prepared doctrinal manuals in indigenous languages, some supplemented the basic prayers and lists with commentary in dialogical format, but sixteenth-century practice varied considerably. The earliest extant example of dialogue comes in the Franciscan Pedro de Gante's 1547 *Doctrina christiana en lengua mexicana*, much of which models a student reciting lengthy passages in response to brief questions.¹⁰ In 1565 the Dominican Domingo de la Anunciación published a doctrina in which the student asks questions and the teacher answers.¹¹ Some other friars included questionnaires within predominantly monological works.¹² The most dialogical sixteenth-century Mexican doctrina is the anonymous 1578 bilingual Spanish-Nahuatl text sponsored by Archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras.¹³ Here the catechumen is asked to recite basic elements of doctrine, from the Lord's Prayer to the sacraments, and to answer several questions about each in turn. There is some overlap among these earlier dialogues, and between them and the Little Doctrine. However, sixteenth-century texts present no consistent and concise list of questions, and none of these precedents can be considered a cognate of, or sufficient model for, the Little Doctrine.

9. McDonald, *Christian Catechetical Texts*, 1:2, 22.

10. An incomplete copy is in the John Carter Brown Library; see also Gante, *Doctrina cristiana en lengua mexicana*.

11. Anunciación, *Doctrina christiana breve*.

12. For example, Feria, *Doctrina christiana en lengua castellana*, 115v–116v; Anunciación, *Doctrina christiana muy cumplida*, 191–99; Cruz, *Doctrina christiana en la lengua Guasteca*, 43v–49r.

13. Pareja, *Doctrina cristiana muy útil*. Luis Resines Llorente attributes the work to Fray Francisco de Pareja, a Franciscan friar.

At this point in the story, a book from the Andes may play a role. The Third Lima Council, which met from 1582 to 1583, sponsored a trilingual doctrina that was published in 1584. The Jesuit Joseph de Acosta apparently composed the Spanish text, which was translated into Quechua and Aymara by a team of three secular clerics, two of whom were mestizos fluent in both languages.¹⁴ This book is mostly dialogical in form, but more relevant here is the fact that it presents two dialogues: a “catecismo breve para los rudos y ocupados” and a “catecismo mayor, para los que son mas capaces.”¹⁵ This seems to be the first New World publication of a simplified catechetical questionnaire directed explicitly at “crude,” common, or lower-class people. Its 17 questions only generally coincide with those of the Little Doctrine, but they cover analogous theological ground and may have provided a model for that text.

The Lima doctrina had an immediate, though limited, impact in Mexico. There the Third Provincial Council, convened under Archbishop Moya de Contreras in 1585, sponsored a doctrina of its own that church leaders hoped to substitute for the wide variety of texts then in circulation. The new catechism’s author, Jesuit father Juan de la Plaza, composed a text that closely mirrors Acosta’s work.¹⁶ Plaza enumerates in more detail the defects of those to whom he directs his catecismo breve: dangerously ill baptism candidates, the aged, the dull, and the intellectually incapable.¹⁷ He also adds nine questions: two about the resurrection of the dead at the end of the world and their subsequent fate, and seven prompts eliciting recitation of commandments, prayers, and sacraments.¹⁸ Although the Little Doctrine also refers to the reunion of soul and body at Judgment Day, the wording of the passage is so different that it was likely composed independently of Plaza’s text. However, this interlude establishes that the Lima doctrina was known in Mexico and that churchmen there judged it a fine model for post-Tridentine catechesis.

By the time the Royal Council of the Indies approved Plaza’s catechism in 1622, authorities in Mexico had lost interest in it. The work languished until the Fourth Provincial Council, held in 1771, when Archbishop Francisco Antonio

14. Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 97.

15. *Doctrina christiana, y catecismo*, 131–181 (“catecismo breve”), 251–73v (“catecismo mayor”).

16. Ernest J. Burrus established Juan de la Plaza’s authorship. Burrus, “Author,” 172–74. Resines Llorente observes the work’s dependence on the Lima volume. See his prefatory editorial commentary in Plaza, “*Doctrina christiana mexicana*,” 647.

17. Plaza, “*Doctrina christiana mexicana*,” 669.

18. *Ibid.*, 670–71.

de Lorenzana had it printed anonymously.¹⁹ Meanwhile, another Jesuit enjoyed the catechetical limelight in New Spain.

Father Jerónimo Martínez de Ripalda never crossed the Atlantic, but his *Catecismo y exposición breve de la doctrina cristiana*, published in 1591 in Burgos, in 1618 in Toledo; and many times thereafter, frequented the Spanish flotilla. Ripalda's Jesuit brothers in New Spain embraced his work, using it extensively in their schools and missions and translating it into indigenous languages, such that, as Burrus observes, "Ripalda" became "synonymous with 'catechism.'"²⁰ Ripalda presents a 322-question dialogue.²¹ Bartolomé Castaño, a Jesuit from Portugal, is credited with distilling this dialogue, and the view of the faith it professes, into a 24-question sequence adequate for the salvation of "crude" people.²²

Castaño had plenty of experience on which to base a doctrina for neophytes. After completing studies in Puebla, he departed in 1632 for Sinaloa, where he worked among the Sisibotaris and Sahuaripas, and then journeyed on to Sonora. Jesuit reports claim that he single-handedly pacified that province, quickly learned the local language, and baptized 4,000 adults and countless children in the space of one year. He returned to central Mexico in 1646, and he resided there and in Oaxaca until his death in 1672.²³ He reportedly published his *Catecismo breve de lo que precisamente debe saber el cristiano*, with its 24-question dialogue, in 1644. Like Ripalda's work, it would see centuries of reprintings.

There are, however, two problems with the simple Ripalda-to-Castaño story. The first is that there does not seem to be an extant exemplar of Castaño's catechism, as an independent text, predating the mid-eighteenth century.²⁴ Rafael Montejano y Aguiñaga explains that early printings were impressed on a

19. Ibid., 633 (Resines Llorente's prefatory editorial commentary); *Catecismo y suma*. Plaza's name was omitted because of the suppression of the Jesuit order then in effect. Burrus, "Author," 176.

20. Burrus, "Author," 174; Gonzalbo Aizpuru, *La educación popular*, 52.

21. In the English translation by Glynis Hopkin-Peters, included in McDonald, *Christian Catechetical Texts*, 2:555-78. The number of questions may vary among different editions.

22. Gonzalbo Aizpuru, *La educación popular*, 176.

23. Francisco Zambrano compiles information on Castaño from many Jesuit sources in *Diccionario bio-bibliográfico*, 750-65. The sources do not specify which language(s) pertaining to the many ethnic groups in northern New Spain Castaño actually spoke.

24. Zambrano, *Diccionario bio-bibliográfico*, lists none earlier than 1744, and I could not find earlier editions through WorldCat or more general online searches.

single sheet of paper and were thus too ephemeral to be registered by bibliographers.²⁵ The earliest stand-alone version I have seen is an 8-leaf, decimosexto imprint from Puebla, dated 1769.²⁶ However, Castaño's questionnaire, with the Jesuit's name attached, survives in works compiled by other authors during the 1680s and 1690s.²⁷ All of these, as well as a 1778 Spanish-language version,²⁸ present an identical 24-question sequence and are virtually identical in their wording, but their relationship to an initial 1644 imprint must be considered uncertain.

Posing the second problem are two texts that postdate Ripalda's but predate 1644. Both appear in works by secular parish priests who ministered to indigenous people in the Archdiocese of Mexico. First, Francisco de Lorra Baquío, of the Diocese of Puebla, published 21 questions, in Nahuatl and Spanish, in his 1634 sacramental manual.²⁹ All but two of the questions occur, in the same order, in Castaño's catechism. Lorra Baquío includes a non-Castaño question about the Virgin Mary and closes with an inquiry as to why one should take Communion; Castaño will instead ask what one must do to prepare for that sacrament. Lorra Baquío introduces his questions with the confusing statement that this catechism "goes brief for all, and compendious for adults who are being baptized, and for those who are to receive the Holy Eucharist, and confess, and the crude people who are not capable of more."³⁰ Presumably, he meant that the brief answers sufficed for the "crude" people and that the longer expositions included after some of the questions—which extend the catechism to over 17 pages—should be used with more "capable" persons.

Sticking more closely to the concept of a catecismo breve, Diego de Nágera (or Nájera) Yanguas prepared a Spanish and Mazahua catechism comprised of 17 of the questions that Castaño would later appropriate. Nágera Yanguas, a

25. Montejano y Aguiñaga, "Estudio bibliográfico," xlviii.

26. Castaño, *Breve resumen*. It is labeled a reprint (*reimpresso*). Preceding the Little Doctrine, this imprint includes the sign of the cross, Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, Apostles' Creed, Salve Regina, commandments of God and the church, sacraments, and Articles of Faith. It is possible that these were included in Castaño's catechism going back to 1644.

27. In Spanish it appears in Manni, *Quatro maximas*, 65r–68r; Ledesma, *Silvos*, 79–81. It appears in Spanish and Purepecha in Serra, *Manual de administrar*, 107r–109r.

28. *Actos de fé*, 9–16.

29. Lorra Baquío, *Manual mexicano*, 23v–33r; John Frederick Schwaller, "A Catalogue of Pre-1840 Nahuatl Works Held by the Lilly Library: A Machine-Readable Transcription," Lilly Library Publications Online, accessed 12 May 2013, <http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/etexts/nahuatl>. Approbations in the book's front matter are dated 1633.

30. Lorra Baquío, *Manual mexicano*, 23v.

criollo, served as parish priest of Jocotitlán, in the northwest of what is now the state of Mexico, from 1592 until he died in 1635, leaving his unpublished book to the care of his executors.³¹ His *Doctrina, y enseñanza en la lengua mazahua*, printed in 1637, is primarily a linguistic study, with several models of conversational Mazahua. Apart from a confessional dialogue, the only doctrinal entry is this "catechism in Mazahua language, and in Castilian language, by questions and answers."³²

Since both these predecessor texts consist, with the exceptions noted above, only of questions that would reappear, in the same order, in the Castaño catechism, I consider them variants of the Little Doctrine. They show that Castaño drew on a model text or texts already in use in the early to mid-1630s among secular clergy working in indigenous languages. He could have carried this source material along on his journey north in 1632, or it could have reached him at his mission outpost. There he polished and expanded the dialogue, establishing what would henceforth be its most canonical form. While the 1584 Lima catecismo breve may have provided a model for the initial redaction of the questionnaire, the precise sequence of questions, even encompassing the variants I discuss below, makes this a distinctive, Mexican text. At present, I have no evidence that it existed before the 1630s. Table 1 presents a composite, generalized Little Doctrine drawn from several sources.

As a catechetical instrument, the Little Doctrine surpasses the Andean catecismo breve. It avoids referring to past idolatries, always a controversial topic. It eliminates an awkward sequence in which heaven, earth, and all other things are said to have been created for "the good of man," and the respondent is then asked to define this "good."³³ Salvation and damnation are treated more clearly and efficiently. Yet it covers the same general territory: monotheism; the Trinity and its three persons who are only one God; Jesus Christ's dual nature as God and man as well as his birth from Mary, mission to save sinful humanity, passion, resurrection, ascension, and return as judge at the end of the world; the separate fates of the body and soul; the heavenly reward for the good and the underworld punishment of the bad; and the meaning of the church. One addition to the content from Lima, central to Counter-Reformation theology, establishes that Jesus Christ is present in the Eucharist just as he is in heaven. The three final questions, which apparently originate with Castaño, review

31. Pellicer, "Confesión y conversación," 17. See also Iracheta Cenecorta, "Entre lo divino."

32. Nágera Yanguas, *Doctrina, y enseñanza*, 81r–83r.

33. *Doctrina christiana, y catecismo*, 14r.

Table 1. Composite Little Doctrine

[illegible]

Table 1 (continued)

Q	Text of questions and answers, including some variations	LB	NY	C	O	V	M	VG	P	VC	399	G	B	25	T	E	77	GO
12	Which of these persons became a man? The second person, which is God's precious child, our lord Jesus Christ.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
13	And who is our lord Jesus Christ? He is truly a deity and truly a man.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
14	Where did our lord Jesus Christ become a man? In the maidenly womb of the ever-maiden Saint Mary, by means of a miracle of the Holy Spirit (without union with a man).	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
15	And who is the ever-maiden noblewoman Saint Mary? She is God's mother, forever a maiden, and filled with complete goodness, grace, and with her is everything that makes one good, that makes one proper, in heaven and on earth she is the royal noblewoman.	*		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓							✓	✓	✓
16	And where is that noblewoman, the ever-maiden Saint Mary? She is in heaven, with her body and her soul, in possession of joy, and she goes on being our advocate, before God the Most Holy Trinity.			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓						✓	✓	✓	✓
17	Why did our lord Jesus Christ come to become a man? In order to save us sinners.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

(continued)

Table 1. Composite Little Doctrine (continued)

Q	Text of questions and answers, including some variations	LB	NY	C	O	V	M	VG	P	VC	399	G	B	25	T	E	77	GO
18	What did he do on earth in order to save us? For our sake he suffered by order of Pontius Pilate, he was stretched by the arms upon the cross, he died, he was buried, he descended to the place of the dead, on the third day he revived from among the dead, he ascended to heaven, he went to sit at the right hand of God the Father, the All-Powerful. And from there he will come again here to earth. He will come to judge the living and the dead.	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
19	Our lord Jesus Christ, did he die as a deity or as a man? He did not die as a deity. Only as a man did he die.	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
20	And when the person of earth dies, does his or her soul die like his or her body dies? His or her soul does not die. Only his or her body dies.		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓	✓	✓
21	And does his or her body die forever? No, for when it is Judgment Day his or her body and his or her soul will join together once again, such that he or she will revive and live forever.		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	m					✓	✓	✓

Table 1 (continued)

Q	Text of questions and answers, including some variations	LB	NY	C	O	V	M	VG	P	VC	399	G	B	25	T	E	77	GO
22	And where will (the souls of) good people (or Christians) go when they die? To heaven, because they kept God's sacred commandments.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	m	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
23	And for how much time will they be there inside heaven in the royal home of God? They will live there next to and beside God forever, because they really kept the sacred commandments of God and the Holy Roman Catholic Church.																	✓
24	And (the souls of) bad people (or Christians), where will they go? They will go to the place of the dead to suffer forever because they did not keep the sacred commandments of God and the Holy Church.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	m	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
25	What does Holy Roman Catholic Church mean? It means the assembly of all Christians (who believe in the commandments of our lord God) (who receive the Most Holy Sacrament) (whose head is our lord Jesus Christ) (who will be saved if they die in grace). (And here on earth his representative is our great priestly ruler the Holy Father, who is in the great city of Rome.)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

(continued)

Table 1. Composite Little Doctrine (continued)

Q	Text of questions and answers, including some variations	LB	NY	C	O	V	M	VG	P	VC	399	G	B	25	T	E	77	GO
26	And the angels, who are they? They are a group of spirits of life and joy, and they are forever praising our lord God with joyful songs in heaven.			✓	✓	✓				✓						✓	✓	✓
27	Is that their only task? No. He also appointed them our advocates and our seizers from the hands of others, so that we will be able to follow his sacred commandments, and they will defend us in our dangers, and when we are about to die they will defend us from our enemies the demons.			✓	✓	✓				✓						✓	✓	✓
28	And who is inside the Holy Sacrament (of the altar, which the priest raises when he says Mass)? Our lord Jesus Christ is there, the true deity and the true man, like he is in heaven.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
29	When we are to take communion, what should we do? We are to purify ourselves with fasting and with confession, and if we have any sin we will prepare ourselves, and then we will take communion.		✓	✓			✓			✓								✓
30	And in order to confess, what should we do? First we will remember all the mortal sins that we can find. We will feel remorse, and resolve not to sin again.		✓				✓			✓								✓

Table 1 (continued)

Q	Text of questions and answers, including some variations	LB	NY	C	O	V	M	VG	P	VC	399	G	B	25	T	E	77	GO
31	And so that we may be saved, what should we do? We will keep God's sacred commandments, and those of Holy Church. We will fulfill our obligations, and our good living on earth.			✓				✓									✓	

Source:

- LB: Francisco de Lorra Baquio, 1634, Nahuatl and Spanish
 NY: Diego de Nájera Yanguas, 1637, Spanish and Mazahua
 C: Bartolomé Castaño, 1644, Spanish (reconstructed from later sources)
 O: Juan Ossorio, 1653, Nahuatl
 V: Agustín de Vetancurt, 1673, Nahuatl
 M: Alonso de Molina, addition to 1675 reprint, Nahuatl
 VG: Antonio Vásquez Gastelu, 1689, Nahuatl
 P: Ignacio de Paredes, 1758, Nahuatl
 VC: Carlos Celedonio Velásquez de Cárdenas y León, 1761, Nahuatl
 399: BnF 399, pictographs
 G: "Gante" catechism, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Vitr/26/9, pictographs
 B: Fondation Martin Bodmer, Geneva, pictographs
 25: Codex Indianorum 25, John Carter Brown Library, pictographs
 T: Tulane University Latin American Library, pictographs
 E: Egerton 2898, British Museum, pictographs and Nahuatl
 77: BnF 77, pictographs and Nahuatl
 GO: Códice Catecismo Gómez de Orozco, pictographs and Nahuatl

Note: Parenthetical phrases indicate variants. "*" indicates that Lorra Baquio instead asks "Who is the Virgin Saint Mary our lady?" "m" indicates that the particular question is presumed to have been on missing folios.

preparations for Communion and confession, and stress that salvation depends on observing the commandments of God and the church.

Elaboration and Dissemination after Castaño

In the mid-seventeenth century, short catechisms began to proliferate at the expense of more detailed treatises, a trend Mark Christensen attributes to ecclesiastics' diminished opinion of their Indian charges' religious potential and to the decline of the schools that once trained capable indigenous amanuenses.³⁴ Especially for churchmen who lacked native-language fluency, short catechisms provided a convenient tool for fulfilling their pastoral duties among a now increasing population, and it was easier to copy an existing text than to create a new one.³⁵ In this climate, Castaño's 24 questions found many admirers.

Not surprisingly, the record is most extensive, and most varied, for Nahuatl, the principal indigenous tongue of central Mexico, which was also widely employed as a vehicular language across much of the colony. Whether drawing on pre-Castaño sources or making their own improvements on the Jesuit's model, redactors of Nahuatl Little Doctrines added and subtracted questions and expanded answers, as noted in table 1 and summarized chronologically below. All post-Castaño Nahuatl versions go unaccompanied by Spanish translation.

A principal Nahuatl variant appears in 1653, appended, with no comment or attribution, to a treatise on the Athanasian Creed published by parish priest Juan Ossorio (or Osorio).³⁶ This version begins with a question establishing the existence of God (Q1 in table 1), a query that heads the Lima catecismo breve. Also new are two questions on the Virgin Mary (Q15, Q16), the first of which resembles Lorra Baquío's question about the Virgin but may be an independent invention, and two questions on angels (Q26, Q27). Castaño's last three questions have gone missing, while a statement about the pope extends the definition of the church (Q25). Whether Ossorio or a predecessor made these changes to the questionnaire is uncertain.

In 1673 the Franciscan Agustín de Vetancurt appended Castaño's questions, with Ossorio's Virgin Mary questions added, to his grammar of Nahuatl.³⁷ Two years later, Ossorio's version, again with no introduction or attribution,

34. Christensen, *Translated Christianities*.

35. Mark Z. Christensen, personal communication, 14 Feb. 2013.

36. Ossorio, *Apologia, y declaracion*, 31r–32v.

37. Vetancurt, *Arte de lengua mexicana*. The unpaginated doctrina follows the main text, which ends on 49v.

opens another Franciscan imprint, the revised and expanded edition of Fray Alonso de Molina's 1546 doctrina (see figure 2).³⁸ The 1732 reprint of Molina repeats the same questions.³⁹ For convenience, I refer to this version below as the Ossorio-Molina variant.

Antonio Vásquez Gastelu borrowed the title of Castaño's catechism for his own doctrinal handbook, attached to his 1689 grammar of Nahuatl. Vásquez Gastelu, who died in 1685, had been a professor of Nahuatl at the Colegio de San Juan and the Colegio de San Pedro, in Puebla. His *Cathecismo breve de lo que precissamente deve saber el christiano, en lengua mexicana* includes the 24-question sequence, titled in Nahuatl as "here is sacred-word questioning," among other catechistic material.⁴⁰ In his prologue he explains that he includes a short catechism "very advantageous for the poor natives."⁴¹ The grammar was reprinted several times, as was the doctrina section, which appeared as a separate book beginning in 1733.⁴² Castaño was never credited.

Jesuit father Ignacio de Paredes complemented his 1758 Nahuatl translation of Ripalda's catechism with a "little doctrine, prepared by Father Bartholome Castaño of the Society of Jesus."⁴³ He promises 40 days' indulgence to anyone who hears it. His Nahuatl introduction also explains that "here is what is called the Little Sacred Speech: every Christian person should be inspired by it, learn it by heart, understand it correctly, and believe it firmly, especially when he or she is about to confess."⁴⁴ Though he cites Castaño, Paredes adds a question clarifying that neither God the Father nor the Holy Spirit is the member of the Trinity who became a man (Q11). Also, he opens with the question about the

38. Molina, *Doctrina christiana, y cathecismo, en lengua mexicana. Nuevamente*. The 1718 reprint was edited by the Augustinian Manuel Pérez. Since Pérez's other works date from 1713 to 1723, it is doubtful that he edited the 1675 version. See Sell, "Friars, Nahuas, and Books," 246.

39. Molina, *Doctrina christiana, y cathecismo en lengua mexicana . . . Corregida*. Ascensión H. de León-Portilla lists reprints also of 1718, 1735, and 1744, which I have not been able to examine, in *Tepuztlabcuilolli*, 2:279.

40. Vásquez Gastelu, *Arte de lengua mexicana*, 41r-42v. Vásquez Gastelu may have used an ephemeral imprint lacking Castaño's name; such imprints were being published into the nineteenth century. The translated quotation reads in the original Nahuatl as "izcatqvi in theotlatoltlatlaniliztli."

41. Ibid., "Prologo al lector" (unpaginated).

42. Vásquez Gastelu, *Cathecismo breve*.

43. Paredes, *Catecismo mexicano*, 143-50.

44. Ibid., 143: "Nican motenehua in Tepiton Teotlátolli: in mochi Christianotlacatl huel quimoyollotiz; itencopa quimatiz; quimelahuacacaquiz, ihuan quichichahuacaneltocaz; in oc ye cenca in îquac moyolcuitiz."

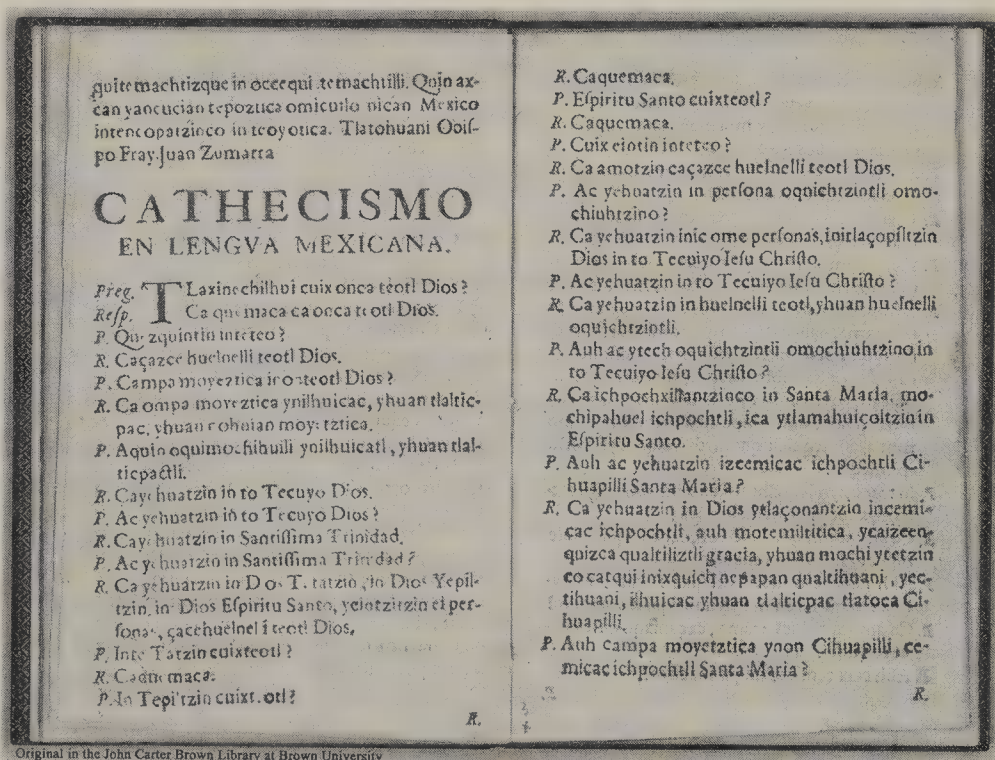


Figure 2. The Little Doctrine in the 1675 reprint of Fray Alonso de Molina's *doctrina*, Q1–Q16. Alonso de Molina, *Doctrina christiana, y catecismo, en lengua mexicana. Nuevamente emendada, dispuesta, y añadida; para el uso, y enseñanza de los naturales* (Mexico City: Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1675). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

existence of God, which he may have taken from the Ossorio-Molina version or directly from the Andean catecismo breve; he mirrors the latter version in beginning his reply with “yes, father,” a phrase not found in other adaptations of Castaño (who modestly addressed his interlocutor as “brother”).⁴⁵ Paredes also retains the Ossorio-Molina statement about the pope, with slightly different wording.⁴⁶

In 1761, a 28-question Castaño-Ossorio meld, lacking only Castaño's final query, was the solution chosen by don Carlos Celedonio Velásquez de Cárdenas y León, an academician, parish priest, and ecclesiastical judge. He presents his Little Doctrine as “following the mode of Father Castaño” and the “traces of

45. *Doctrina christiana, y catecismo*, 13r; Paredes, *Catecismo mexicano*, 143; Serra, *Manual de administrar*, 107r; Castaño, *Breve resumen*, 5v.

46. Paredes, *Catecismo mexicano*, 147–49.

many most learned teachers." He informs his Nahua audience that with these questions "you will quickly and easily learn what your obligations are regarding the faith of our deity."⁴⁷

Meanwhile, Castaño's 24 questions were published in Purepecha in 1697 by Franciscan friar Angel Serra, who includes the title of Castaño's catechism as well as the Jesuit's name.⁴⁸ For the northern missions, Jesuits published the first 14 questions in Tepehuan in 1743 and a 25-question version in Opatá, with a final query asking the catechumen to identify Saint Mary, in 1765.⁴⁹ The 24-question sequence turns up in a secular cleric's Totonac grammar in 1752, a Jesuit's Otomi catechism in 1759, and a Huastec linguistic study in 1767.⁵⁰ The author of the last, the parish priest, Inquisition commissary, and Nahuatl professor Carlos de Tapia Zenteno, credits Castaño, whose catechism he presents "because it is the one that experience has shown is best suited for rustic people."⁵¹ In a manuscript version of the text, Tapia Zenteno instead characterizes its audience as "ignorant people, like the Indians."⁵²

The preceding discussion establishes that the Little Doctrine came into use in a variety of indigenous languages by the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The questions asked and the number of questions vary somewhat, but the content is consistent enough to distinguish this text from other doctrinal questionnaires. The Little Doctrine would continually reappear in reprints of these works and in new editions issued through the late nineteenth century, some credited to Castaño and some not.⁵³ Two Mixtec dialects, as well as

47. Velásquez de Cárdenas y León, *Breve practica*, 42–46. A 1770 manuscript copy by Joseph de Reyna is in the Latin American Library, Tulane University. See Christensen, *Translated Christianities*, chap. 4. The quoted Nahuatl reads, "inic iziuhca ticyamancamatiz, tlen monahuatl, itechcacopa itlaneltoquilitzin in toteotzin."

48. Serra, *Manual de administrar*, 1071–1091. The volume was reprinted in 1731, the catechism separately in 1744 and 1767, as catalogued by Zambrano, *Diccionario bio-bibliográfico*, 761. With slight changes to the Purepecha, parish priest Joseph Zepherino Botello Movellan included Serra's version in his own, monolingual, Purepecha catechism, completed in 1758. Villavicencio, "El catecismo de Joseph Zepherino Botello," 44–46.

49. Rinaldini, *Arte de la lengua tepeguana*, 2–3; Aguirre, *Doctrina christiana, y platicas*, 4–6. The question about the Virgin Mary is shorter and simpler than Q15.

50. Zambrano Bonilla, *Arte de lengua totonaca*, 58–61; Miranda, *Catecismo breve en lengua otomi*, 6–10; Tapia Zenteno, *Noticia de la lengua huasteca*, 96–99.

51. Tapia Zenteno, *Noticia de la lengua huasteca*, 96.

52. Tapia Zenteno, *Paradigma apologético*, 145.

53. I do not attempt to catalog them here. See León-Portilla, *Tēpuztlabcuilolli*; "John Carter Brown Library - Indigenous Collection," Internet Archive, accessed 30 Sept. 2013, <https://archive.org/details/jcbindigenous>; Zambrano, *Diccionario bio-bibliográfico*, 761–66.

Mazatec and Tarahumara, can be added to the languages noted above.⁵⁴ Castaño's text found even broader distribution on the last page of the *Silabario de San Miguel*, a reading primer widely used in parochial schools and reportedly still being reprinted.⁵⁵ But at this point I turn to the parallel development of the Little Doctrine in pictures.

The Little Doctrine and the Pictographic Catechisms

That the early friars in New Spain used pictures as catechetical and preaching aids, cleverly adapting their methods to preconquest representational practices while leaping over language barriers, stands out as a favorite topos in an evangelization story often phrased in heroic and hagiographic terms. There is no reason to doubt that some priests pointed to pictures, usually arranged on large cloths, as they taught Christianity.⁵⁶ Also beyond dispute is the fact that native artists quickly adapted European imagery to develop the "Indo-Christian" style of painting and sculpture that blanketed sixteenth-century religious architecture.⁵⁷ But the placement of pictographic catechisms within the same sixteenth-century context cannot be sustained.

These texts are small picture books from which catechismal prayers and lists can be "read" in a line-by-line, word(s)-for-image manner.⁵⁸ Though pictographic like preconquest books, these manuscripts employ only a few signs

A 2012 public domain reprint of Vásquez Gastelu's *Catecismo breve* is currently offered on Amazon.com; though lacking a title page and the last two pages, it is identical to the 1860 edition published in Puebla by José Maria Rivera.

54. *Catecismo en el idioma mixteco montañez*, 11–18; *Catecismo en idioma mixteco, según se habla*, 12–19; "Catechism and Doctrine in Mazatec compiled by P. Bartolome Castaño," 30 Nov. 1820, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Special Collections Department, Collection of Aztec [Nahuatl] and Other Native Mexican Language Documents, ca. 1547–1906, box 1, #943, photographs by William Gates. Zambrano, *Diccionario bio-bibliográfico*, 764, lists a Tarahumara edition by Jesuit father Pablo Louvet at the beginning of the twentieth century. These last two texts I have not examined directly.

55. Barbosa Heldt, *Cómo enseñar a leer*, 29–30. The date of origin for this syllabary seems to be unknown.

56. Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, 665; García Icazbalceta, *Códice franciscano*, 59–60; Valadés, *Retórica cristiana*, 236, 500; Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación*, 257–58.

57. Constantino Reyes-Valerio estimates that the murals alone amounted to 200,000 to 300,000 or more square meters of art. Reyes-Valerio, *El pintor de conventos*, 10. For an analysis of indigenous religious concepts expressed in this art, see Wake, *Framing the Sacred*.

58. John Glass's "Census of Middle American Testerian Manuscripts," 288–96, lists 35 such documents, numbered 801–835; Anne Normann adds 7 texts to this list, in "Testerian Codices," 29. Since then, an additional such manuscript has been acquired by the

traceable to preconquest writing. Perhaps more importantly, they represent complete and verbally fixed texts. Pre-Columbian books did not dictate a specific verbal performance. Whether depicting historical events, assemblages of offerings, or other information, their intricately coded pictures required specialized knowledge, and the reader could interpret and verbalize the text in any number of different ways. Pictographic catechisms, in contrast, were intended to represent the fixed, canonical texts that people committed to memory in the obligatory catechism classes, although a given reading or performance might diverge slightly from any particular print rendering of those materials.

Evidence suggests that, despite these discontinuities with pre-Columbian writing, the catechisms are of indigenous invention and manufacture. The few colonial exemplars that tell us anything of their context are unambiguously Nahuatl. Two are annotated, signed, and dated (the first 1714, the other 1719) by their Nahuatl creators, don Lucas Mateo and Felipe de Santiago, respectively.⁵⁹ Another features Nahuatl alphabetic writing, in mid- to late seventeenth-century orthography, that refers to San Sebastián Atzacualco, one of the indigenous districts of Mexico City, and speaks reverently of don Pedro de Moteucōma Tlacahuepan, a son of Moteucōma Xocoyotzin.⁶⁰ Later colonial

Biblioteca Nacional de España and another by the Biblioteca Francisco de Burgoa in Oaxaca. Hereafter these manuscripts will be cited as "Glass," followed by the relevant number from this list. Of these, some are lost, and no more than two dozen were actually made and used during the colonial era. For a new analysis of the pictography, see Elizabeth Hill Boone's chapter entitled "Figures, Signs, and the Words of the Fathers: The Pictographic Catechism in Mexico" in her book (in preparation) "Picture and the Letter." The most detailed survey of the genre remains Normann, "Testerian Codices." As the designation "Testerian," after Franciscan friar Jacobo de Testera, has no historical basis, I follow Boone in preferring to avoid it.

59. In the case of Egerton 2898, British Museum, London (Glass 813), the 7 in "1714" was effaced, presumably in an attempt to falsify the document's age, but scholars accept the 1714 date. Normann, "Testerian Codices," 132; Berger, *Gebetbücher in mexikanischer Bilderschrift*, 17–18. Images are available in Berger's text and on "Doctrina Cristiana / Egerton 2898 / Egerton Ms. 2898," British Museum, accessed 9 Oct. 2013, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=649998&partId=1. The 1719 text is mexicain 77, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des Manuscrits (Glass 808) (hereafter, such manuscripts held at the Bibliothèque nationale will be cited as "BnF" followed by the manuscript number). Images of this manuscript are available at "077 Testeriano 2," Amoxcalli, accessed 31 Oct. 2013, <http://amoxcalli.org.mx/codice.php?id=077>. Both manuscripts are discussed further below.

60. BnF 399 (Glass 810). James Lockhart dates the orthography of a four-page alphabetic text within the catechism to this time period (personal communication, 30 Dec. 2012). Lockhart's assessment is based especially on the use of the letters *s*, *c*, and *z*.

churchmen might have tolerated or even approved of such works as an appropriate catechetical mechanism for the “crude” Indians, but it is doubtful that these churchmen would have instituted a practice so redolent of the past. The genre is indigenous, but the dates just cited for some of these texts are typical, not late.

The Little Doctrine is key to my revision of the dating. With rare exceptions, the extant colonial pictographic catechisms contain this seventeenth-century text.⁶¹ Of these exceptions, one has a close cognate, in style and content, that does feature the Little Doctrine.⁶² Another presents additional anomalies: a single sheet of indigenous paper (*amatl*) rather than a booklet formed of European-type paper, it offers only the Ten Commandments and the Articles of Faith, inked on one side of the page.⁶³ Another’s questionnaire parallels the Little Doctrine up to the question about the birth of Christ but then digresses into an idiosyncratic sequence of questions.⁶⁴ However, for the genre overall, the Little Doctrine is as integral and ubiquitous a component as the Lord’s Prayer or the Apostles’ Creed.

Although scholars asserting an early origin for the pictographic catechisms cite several sixteenth-century chroniclers who mention—typically with an attitude of wonderment—indigenous people making Christian signs of one sort or another on paper, none of these statements precisely matches the extant manuscripts. The closest similarity comes from Jesuit fathers Juan de Tovar and Joseph de Acosta. Around 1585 Tovar sent Acosta “the prayers of the Our Father, etc., and the General Confession and other things of our faith as the ancients wrote and learned them through their characters, which the old men of Tetzco and Tula sent me.”⁶⁵ Tovar was trying to demonstrate to his colleague

61. I base this statement on a review of Normann, “Testerian Codices,” and manuscripts published in facsimile or available online. I have no information on the content of one acquired several years ago by the Biblioteca Francisco de Burgoa in Oaxaca, Mexico, mentioned in Batalla Rosado, “Problemática sobre la datación,” 1, 19. The nineteenth-century Andean text published by Barbara H. Jaye and William P. Mitchell in *Picturing Faith* contains dialogical content not cognate with the Little Doctrine, one piece of evidence that the Andean pictorials represent an independent tradition.

62. These are the Otomi manuscripts BnF 78 (Glass 809) and BnF 76 (Glass 807).

63. Humboldt Fragment 16, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Glass 817). This manuscript may represent an earlier tradition of catechetical imagery, but its dating is uncertain.

64. This is the so-called “Libro de Oraciones,” Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, Codex Collection (Glass 830). See Basich de Canessi, *Un catecismo*.

65. Copy of letter to Acosta, contained in the front matter of the manuscript of Tovar’s “Relacion del origen de los yndios que havitan en esta Nueva España segun sus historias,” Codex Indianorum 2, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, published in Lafaye, *Manuscript Tovar*, 3–5.

that the native people were capable of accurately recording their past, which Tovar had just summarized in his historical chronicle. Acosta, in turn, describes this material as a pictorial-alphabetic hybrid, in which, for example, a figure kneeling in front of a friar represents "I, a sinner, confess," while letters were used "where they lack images"—for example, for the phrase "in which I sinned."⁶⁶ This experimental format may be considered a precursor for the extant pictographic catechisms, but the latter do not alternate picture and text in the manner Acosta describes. The reference to "the ancients" should also be viewed with skepticism, as Tovar's correspondents could have created these documents upon the Jesuit's request for examples of old picture writing, and the signs Acosta describes are not pre-Columbian.

One particular piece of purported evidence, however, has particularly muddied the waters. At the back of a pictographic catechism in Spain's Biblioteca Nacional, on a piece of paper that enfolds the catechism but does not bear any pictures, lies the signature, perhaps authentic, of Fray Pedro de Gante.⁶⁷ This Flemish Franciscan lay brother's tireless labors on behalf of indigenous education make him the quintessential hero of the hagiographic evangelization narrative. However, he died in 1572 and could not have signed a document that contains the seventeenth-century Little Doctrine as well as a version of the Hail Mary that does not appear in Nahuatl catechisms until 1576.⁶⁸ Previous scholars, some of whom have projected this catechism back as early as the 1520s, have insisted that Gante must have composed the questionnaire and precociously adopted the post-Tridentine formulation of the prayer.⁶⁹ A much more plausible scenario places the text later in the colonial period and accepts that the signature is not integral to the catechism.

Another line of evidence pushing the pictographic catechisms into the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is Juan José Batalla Rosado's ongoing

66. Acosta, *Historia natural*, 163–64.

67. "Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana en jeroglíficos," Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Vitr/26/9 (Glass 806). See Cortés Castellanos, *El catecismo en pictogramas*; Resines Llorente, *Catecismos pictográficos*.

68. The revised prayer ends with the passage "[pray for us sinners] now and at the hour of our death." The catechism presents a shroud-wrapped body to signify death. Cortés Castellanos, *El catecismo en pictogramas*, 454 (pictograph 76). The earliest occurrence I have found of a Nahuatl term for death in this context is Vargas, *Doctrina christiana, muy util*, 10v.

69. Normann, "Testerian Codices," 36–38; Cortés Castellanos, *El catecismo en pictogramas*, 267–69; Resines Llorente, "Estudio sobre el catecismo pictográfico náhuatl," 454.

analyses of their paper and watermarks.⁷⁰ Among the manuscripts he has so far examined that do retain watermarks, none makes use of sixteenth-century paper. His analysis places the Gante text and its cognates into the eighteenth century. Where Eleanor Wake perceives a possible “hiatus” in the production of these texts, extending from sometime in the sixteenth until the late seventeenth century,⁷¹ we should consider instead the possibility that the genre is a later colonial development.

I suggest that the pictographic catechisms contain the Little Doctrine because the genre—as represented by the surviving texts in booklet form—emerged after this questionnaire had become a familiar component of native-language doctrinas and perhaps had come to seem as timeless and canonical as the Hail Mary or the Ten Commandments. But if these catechisms are not part of the sixteenth-century encounter story, are not an accommodation to pre-Columbian pictographic traditions designed for or by Christian neophytes, what story do they tell? Why would people turn to pictographic catechisms after using alphabetic ones for over a century? Without denying that there were sixteenth-century models and precedents, such as the documents that Tovar received from Tetzco or Tula, I propose that the extant manuscripts represent a new, archaizing genre that emerged in the seventeenth century with the intention of evoking an earlier era.

Kelly McDonough distinguishes “three pillars” among the discursive and performative strategies by which seventeenth-century Tlaxcalan elites asserted their claims to political legitimacy; although Tlaxcalans considered themselves exceptional, these strategies can be extended to other central Mexican indigenous elites. First, the nobles stressed their dynastic continuity with conquest-era rulers. Second, they emphasized their early military alliances with the Spanish. Third, they insisted that they were faithful Christians.⁷² Spaniards’ tendency to doubt the depth of indigenous people’s Christianity threatened native elites’ political as well as religious credentials. As McDonough states, “each public display or performance of Christian faith provided the means by

70. Batalla Rosado, “Problemática sobre la datación”; Juan José Batalla Rosado, personal communication, 14 Jan. 2012. Batalla Rosado points out that BnF 399 has no watermarks; Elizabeth Hill Boone (personal communication, 7 Mar. 2013) suggests that the initial trimming and eventual deterioration of the edges of the paper may account for this lack.

71. Wake, *Framing the Sacred*, 80.

72. McDonough, “Performances of Indigenous Authority,” 72, 74, 79–84; McDonough, “Performances of Tlaxcalan Authority.”

which the indigenous elites could rightfully access the political sphere and confirm their integration and status in colonial New Spain."⁷³

This third pillar supports my reading of how the pictographic catechisms reimagined an earlier era. Christian faith could be performed in many ways, from participating in processions to financing shrines. However, one method was to present one's conquest-era ancestors as early converts to Christianity. History could be revised to show the ancestors immediately embracing Christianity and accepting baptism. We see this process already in the sixteenth century, when Tlaxcalan chroniclers project the baptism of the four Tlaxcalan rulers back to the time of their alliance with Hernán Cortés.⁷⁴ In 1560, leaders of Huexotzinco, writing to the king, claimed that their own Christianization was much more immediate and enthusiastic than that of their Tlaxcalan rivals.⁷⁵

Early and avid embrace of Christianity became a common topos in the *títulos primordiales*, a genre that emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century as communities rebounded from the sixteenth-century demographic collapse and their noble leaders redoubled their efforts to claim lands and privileges. These histories typically present the alliance with the Spanish and the acceptance of Christianity as foundational events for the corporate community, and they often masquerade as sixteenth-century documents for enhanced authority. Indeed, in these accounts the presence of mendicant friars can seem superfluous. The ancestors spontaneously accept the faith, as if, as Robert Haskett says of the Cuernavaca nobility, "the arrival of the Franciscans merely awakened their latent Catholic selves."⁷⁶

Pictographic catechisms provided another way to enact a primordial Christian identity. Invoking the association of pictography with pre-Columbian ancestors and the "preaching with pictures" topos of the evangelization narrative—and drawing on any sixteenth-century experiments with catechetical pictography still at hand—the creators of these booklets could promote the idea that, in their communities, the ancestors accepted Christianity so promptly that they learned their prayers in pictures. And here are people in the present

73. McDonough, "Performances of Indigenous Authority," 80. Edward Osowski traces this elite strategy to the sixteenth century and offers many eighteenth-century examples in *Indigenous Miracles*.

74. Muñoz Camargo, *Historia de Tlaxcala*, 193–205; Gillespie, *Saints and Warriors*, 57.

75. Lockhart, *Nahuas after the Conquest*, 204.

76. Haskett, "Conquering the Spiritual Conquest," 247. On the *títulos* genre, see also Lockhart, *Nahuas after the Conquest*, 357–64, 410–18; Haskett, *Visions of Paradise*; Wood, *Transcending Conquest*; Sousa and Terraciano, "Original Conquest."

day, still reenacting that ancestral conversion by praying with these old-timey pictures and teaching their children with the same methods.⁷⁷

The pictographic catechism from San Sebastián Atzaqualco, mentioned above, supports my argument. Its seventeenth-century Nahuatl alphabetic text projects the surrounding pictures back in time, referring to the 1524 arrival of the famous 12 Franciscans led by Fray Martín de Valencia. It says that they came to teach people the faith and the sacred words, which appear in signs here in this book, and that in this way (or perhaps even with this book—the Nahuatl word *inic* in this context could be read either way) don Pedro de Moteucçoma and other Mexica nobles were first taught. The anonymous writer highlights don Pedro's primordial Christianization by inscribing the Spanish phrase "el primer catolico" as a heading to the short narrative. This text was apparently added at some point after the catechism images were painted, but whatever its temporal relationship to the pictographs, the author—perhaps a descendant of don Pedro—imagines that the very first Nahua Christians employed pictographic catechisms.⁷⁸

This archaizing recovery of pictographic practice had, however, to be accommodated to ongoing exigencies: required recitations of the standard catechismal content found in alphabetic doctrinas, an ability that children had to master and adults to maintain. Hence the content draws from the doctrinas of the time—including the Little Doctrine—and the pictography is designed for a single purpose: to support the recitation of a fixed, memorized text.⁷⁹ Although some conventionalized signs appear in multiple manuscripts, the pictography was never systematized across the genre. The catechisms could foster an illusion of being fully and independently readable to those who knew the glyphs, as were the pre-Columbian books, but in fact they could serve only as accessories to oral instruction or alphabetic literacy.

77. In his Nahuatl alphabetic inscriptions on Egerton 2898, don Lucas Mateo explains that the purpose of his book is that children may be taught and shown Christian doctrine.

78. BnF 399, 19v. I thank James Lockhart (personal communication, 13 Feb. 2013) and David Tavárez (personal communication, 18 Feb. 2013) for their suggestions regarding the interpretation of this passage.

79. I am unconvinced by the approach put forward by Joaquín Galarza and Aurore Monod Becquelin, first in *Doctrina christiana*, which asserts that the pictures encode their own text independent of the catechismal model. I see no evidence that the pictures were intended to support a performance of anything other than the content of the catechism, though that content has been indigenized via translation and pictorial adaptation, and oral renderings might vary somewhat.

It may be that the painters of these catechisms, after a century's exposure to alphabetic writing and Christianized art, imagined that preconquest religious books, like European books, had represented fixed texts sign by sign. Tom Cummins writes of how Europeans fetishized alphabetic writing and denigrated all other representational systems as inferior.⁸⁰ Indigenous people reclaiming pictography were making a strong counterstatement, but it is not surprising that they would nevertheless emulate features of the elite, and by now familiar, form of representation. These compromises need not be consciously articulated. Colonial cultural products whose hybrid nature is obvious to contemporary scholars often, as Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn argue, seemed seamless, unproblematic wholes to their producers.⁸¹ I therefore posit that, once pictographic catechisms emerged, late colonial Indians could perceive this genre as documents passed down from earlier times, linking living people to the early evangelization and to their ancestors of the preconquest and immediate postconquest eras. At the same time, their use legitimized and indigenized the required and now customary practice of reciting memorized catechistic texts and teaching children to do the same.

Pictographic Variants

Pictographic Little Doctrines, like alphabetic ones, exist in different versions. Thus, as well as attesting to the questionnaire's canonical status in indigenous catechesis, the pictorial Little Doctrines supplement the textual history constructed earlier in this essay. The questions included in any given pictographic catechism reflect which edition of the Little Doctrine was in use, as well as preferences of the patron or artist, who might choose to omit one or more questions or to insert a new one, adding indigenous editorial input to the text's history. I have identified four basic variants among the extant colonial manuscripts.⁸² All of them correspond either to Castaño or the Ossorio-Molina variant, not to the pre-1644 imprints, so they are unlikely to predate 1644.

80. Cummins, "From Many into One."

81. Dean and Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents."

82. This excludes two outliers. The "Libro de Oraciones," as mentioned previously, partially overlaps with the Little Doctrine but then digresses so much into other questions that I consider it a different text, although the Little Doctrine may have been a model for several of the questions. The divergent content includes a statement that the Virgin Mary was a virgin before, during, and after the birth of Jesus (a common formula but not part of the Little Doctrine or Ripalda's catechism), a question inquiring as to whether Mary is a god, and references to wine and Christ's blood in relation to the Mass. Second, a variant of the

Castañó's first 21 questions were pictorialized in BnF 399 (Glass 810), the manuscript whose alphabetic content associates it with don Pedro de Moteucçoma (see figure 1).⁸³ The Little Doctrine once filled 12 pages of this manuscript, but two of the folios are missing. Given the surviving text on either side of the gap, the interrogative (*cuix*, from Q21) preceding the first missing leaf, and the amount of space once furnished by these two folios, I am confident that my 21-question reconstruction is correct.⁸⁴

In this manuscript the catechismal pictographs, like the alphabetic texts, are in Nahuatl: that is, they can be read directly into Nahuatl but do not fit Spanish or Latin syntax and vocabulary. This Little Doctrine's fidelity to Castañó's question sequence links it more closely to Vásquez Gastelu's version than to the other Nahuatl imprints I have located. However, my reconstruction of the Nahuatl text shows sufficient divergences from Vásquez Gastelu's wording to indicate that the pictography is based on a different, perhaps earlier, rendering of Castañó's text into Nahuatl. Whether this alphabetic model, like the Ossorio-Molina variant, lacked Castañó's final three questions or the creator of the pictographs chose to omit them is uncertain.

Other Nahuatl-based pictographic catechisms encode a 19-question Little Doctrine. These omit, in addition to Q29–Q31, the questions that deal with the fate of the body and soul after death (Q20 and Q21). Perhaps this topic seemed esoteric compared to the more basic issue, framed in the two subsequent questions, regarding where good and bad people, respectively, go after death. Or perhaps these renditions derive from a version of Castañó truncated for some other reason. This 19-question reduction is shared by the catechism with the attached Gante signature (Glass 806), its cognate in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid (Glass 804), the catechism now at the Martin Bodmer Foundation (Glass 814), the John Carter Brown Library's Codex Indianorum 25 (Glass 824), and, as far as I can determine, the catechism at Tulane University's Latin American Library (Glass 827).⁸⁵ Some shared conventions

Gante catechism, purchased by the Biblioteca Nacional de España in 1993, explicitly cites Castañó's catecismo breve at the beginning of its Little Doctrine but skips Castañó's first question; it then follows Castañó for about ten questions before breaking down into repetitive and largely unintelligible text that only partly replicates the model text. "Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana," Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, RES/271, 18v–24r.

83. Images are available online: "Testeriano 4," Bibliothèque nationale de France, accessed 31 Oct. 2013, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84559463>.

84. BnF 399, 21v–25r.

85. Cortés Castellanos, *El catecismo en pictogramas*, 457–61, 479–81; Bernand, *Teotl*, 27v–35r; Codex Indianorum 25, John Carter Brown Library, 8v–13v (images online at

indicate that these last three are related to one another and, more distantly, to BnF 399.

The three pictographic catechisms that are alphabetically captioned in Nahuatl represent a third variant, and one that can be more securely linked to a specific alphabetic version. These include the two previously mentioned manuscripts whose Nahua creators signed and dated their work: don Lucas Mateo (in 1714) and Felipe de Santiago, of San Miguel Totocuitlapilco (in 1719) (see figure 3).⁸⁶ Of the third Nahuatl-glossed catechism, the *Código Catecismo* Gómez de Orozco (Glass 803), only the Little Doctrine section survives.⁸⁷ Miguel León-Portilla, tentatively, and Luis Resines Llorente, confidently, date the text to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.⁸⁸ However, all three manuscripts use the version of the Little Doctrine published by Ossorio in 1653 and included in the reprints from 1675 on of Molina’s *doctrina*, with its questions on the existence of God, the Virgin Mary, and the angels. Hence, the Gómez de Orozco manuscript comes from the second half of the seventeenth century at the earliest and may be part of the same trend or movement as the other two. And, although both don Lucas Mateo and Felipe de Santiago may have been copying existing manuscripts—which hints at a larger number of texts of this type circulating in their day—the notion that the dated texts were modeled on much more ancient prototypes must be abandoned.⁸⁹

Felipe de Santiago’s work can be linked directly to the Molina reprint. He dubs this section of his work “*Cathesimo en lleguan mexicana*,” following its

[“Catecismo Testerino,” John Carter Brown Library - Indigenous Collection, accessed 31 Oct. 2013, <https://archive.org/details/catecismotesterio1cath>]; Testerian Manuscript, Latin American Library, Tulane University, 4v–10r; Normann, “Testerian Codices,” 354–59.

86. Egerton 2898; BnF 77. See note 59, above. San Miguel Totocuitlapilco is located near Metepec in what is now the state of Mexico. The 1719 date is also substantiated by a 1700 imprint of the *Bula de la Santa Cruzada* that the catechism’s creator incorporated into his booklet. Don Lucas labels himself an *escribano*, or notary. Notaries did not usually take the title “don” unless they had previously held a higher office; this may be the case with don Lucas. As it was also common for church notaries to serve, concurrently or previously, as catechism teachers, it is possible that don Lucas, as well as Felipe de Santiago, had experience in both capacities. See Pizzigoni, *Life Within*, 204–5, 219.

87. Manuscript 183, Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, Gómez de Orozco collection.

88. León-Portilla, *Un catecismo náhuatl*, 33; Resines Llorente, “Estudio sobre el catecismo pictográfico náhuatl,” 453.

89. On the two-page spread that should show the Ten Commandments, don Lucas filled in only the right-hand page (8r), leading Galarza and Monod Becquelin in *Doctrina christiana*, 15, followed by Gaillemin, “A la recherche,” 186, to conclude that a page was missing from his model (although the recto side of the blank page is painted with the



Figure 3. The Little Doctrine in don Lucas Mateo's 1714 rendering, Egerton 2898, British Museum, London, 18v-19r. The image shows the end of Q25, with the Christian faithful whose "head" is Jesus Christ, the two angel questions (Q26 and Q27), and the beginning of Q28. The angels and students with lectern are in the third row, right of center. The preceding scene shows the angels acting as "our advocates." The other scene with angels and lectern refers to the angels praising God in song. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

heading in Molina. He also copies from the book's title page the Franciscan coat of arms, showing the crossed arms of Jesus Christ and Saint Francis, as a symbol for "representative," in reference to the pope's role as Christ's representative on earth (Q25).⁹⁰

Don Lucas Mateo diverges from the Ossorio-Molina model more than the other two painters; he must also have made use of another version of the Little Doctrine. In his first question (Q1) he addresses the catechumen as "you who are God's believer," a term Vetancurt includes in his own opening question

completion of the *Salve Regina*). Gaillemin notes further that Felipe de Santiago accidentally copied some words and images that he had already inked in, as if suffering a lapse of attention while copying from a model.

90. BnF 77, 15v, 19v. His nonstandard spellings are typical of indigenous writers. The Molina imprint may be viewed online: "Doctrina christiana, y catecismo, en lengua mexicana. (1675)," John Carter Brown Library - Indigenous Collection, accessed 10 Oct. 2013, <https://archive.org/details/doctrinachristiaoimoli>.

(Q2). Don Lucas also appends, in inverted order, two of Castaño’s three final questions (Q29 and Q31), which he could have adopted from Vetancurt or another source. He also adds a question asking how long good people will spend in heaven (Q23), an elaboration I have not seen in a printed text, which expands his Little Doctrine to a record 29 questions.

The treatment of the second angel question (Q27) in these three pictographic catechisms suggests an interesting interplay among print and pictorial versions. In Ossorio’s catechism and the 1675 edition of Molina’s, the response to this question contains the unusual term *totematitechancatzitzinbuan*, “our seizers from the hands of others.”⁹¹ The author here struggles to describe how angels protect people from demons without using words that would also apply to Christ’s role as redeemer. In the 1732 reprint of the Molina doctrina, this construction has been replaced with the phonologically similar, morphologically simpler, but semantically distinct word *totemachticatzitzihuan*, “our teachers.”⁹²

The three catechism painters approached this difficult, nonstandard term in three different ways. Felipe de Santiago copies the term and draws an angel with a sword defending a person from a demon.⁹³ The painter of the Gómez de Orozco manuscript copies the “seizers” term but understands it as “teachers”: he paints a figure pointing to a large page of writing while an indigenous girl or woman observes.⁹⁴ Don Lucas Mateo—or his source—anticipates the alteration: he transcribes the word as “our teachers” and depicts two angels and two children pointing to a book on a lectern (see figure 3).⁹⁵ The problematic term was being simplified in practice even before the imprint was reissued.

The fourth pictographic variant maintains complete fidelity to Castaño’s 24-question sequence. The relative lack of divergence from Castaño’s model in indigenous languages other than Nahuatl is replicated in the pictographic catechisms: the 24-question versions occur in non-Nahua sources. One such is the elegantly executed Otomi-glossed manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF 76; Glass 807). Not only is the manuscript captioned in Otomi;

91. Ossorio, *Apologia, y declaracion*, 32v; Molina, *Doctrina christiana, y catechismo, en lengua mexicana. Nuevamente* (this latter text is unpaginated).

92. Molina, *Doctrina christiana, y catechismo en lengua mexicana . . . Corregida* (unpaginated). The change could have been made in the 1718 reprint edited by Manuel Pérez, but the 1719 pictorial did not use the simplified term. Velásquez de Cárdenas y León retains the original term in his 1761 work, *Breve practica*, 45.

93. BnF 77, 19v.

94. León-Portilla, *Un catecismo náhuatl*, 27, 45. León-Portilla, an expert translator, did not interpret this construction correctly—another sign of its difficulty.

95. Egerton 2898, 19r.

its pictographs follow Otomi syntax and cannot be directly glossed into Nahuatl. The orthography and spelling of the captions differ from the 1759 Otomi catechism mentioned above.⁹⁶ Jacques Soustelle tentatively dates this pictographic catechism to the early eighteenth century by comparing its vocabulary to other Otomi-language texts; Batalla Rosado's watermark analysis is consistent with this dating.⁹⁷ In this case the pictographic catechism preserves an Otomi adaptation of the Little Doctrine that may predate any other extant redaction.

The John Carter Brown Library's Codex Indianorum 26 (Glass 826), considered Mazahua because it is glossed with some words in that language, also maintains the standard 24-question sequence, indicating that Nágera Yanguas's partial 1637 Little Doctrine was not the only adaptation of this text into Mazahua.⁹⁸ The related, though possibly Otomi, catechism held by Harvard University's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology contains the Castaño 24, under the garbled but Castaño-like heading "Pregunta de la Doctrina Christiana de lo que presi[s]amente ha debe de saber el Christiano."⁹⁹ More detailed analyses of these manuscripts' rendering of the Little Doctrine into Otomi and Mazahua must await study by scholars conversant with these languages.

Final Comments

The alphabetic and pictorial histories of the Little Doctrine are complex and intertwined, and the sources available for this essay allow only a partial and

96. They also differ from a Spanish-and-Otomi version of unknown date transcribed by Agustín Fischer in 1866. Ayer Manuscript 1653 no. 5, Newberry Library, Chicago, photographs by William Gates.

97. Soustelle, "Notas sobre un documento otomí," 18; Batalla Rosado, "Problemática sobre la datación," 15. The cognate, unglossed Otomi pictorial held as BnF 78 does not have the Little Doctrine. Images of both are available online: "Testeriano 1," Bibliothèque nationale de France, accessed 31 Oct. 2013, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8455945P>; "Testeriano 3," Bibliothèque nationale de France, accessed 31 Oct. 2013, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8458427z>.

98. The text was published by Nicolás León as *Un catecismo mazahua*. For images online, see "[Catecismo Testerino]," John Carter Brown Library - Indigenous Collection, accessed 31 Oct. 2013, <https://archive.org/details/catecismotesterio2cath>. León dates the text as post-1771; it may be earlier but is probably eighteenth-century. Batalla Rosado, "Problemática sobre la datación," 16; Resines Llorente, "Estudio sobre el catecismo pictográfico mazahua," 247-48.

99. Tozzer, *Mexican Catechism*, 13v-18r; Normann, "Testerian Codices," 207. The manuscript contains the dates 1791 and 1801.

tentative reconstruction. However, the preceding analysis supports several conclusions. First, the Little Doctrine was an important element of indigenous catechesis in central and northern New Spain, emerging in the 1630s, gaining wide popularity during the 1700s, and continuing past the end of the colonial era. It appealed to Jesuits, secular clergy, and Franciscans as a convenient tool for meeting their doctrinal obligations toward their native parishioners and mission neophytes, of whose languages they often had limited command.

Second, the attitude of those churchmen toward this text was condescending and somewhat derogatory. Yes, the Little Doctrine cleverly distills essential points of doctrine, but it is only "crude" or "rustic" people, "ignorant Indians" or "poor natives," who require such a succinct summation. More "capable" people should engage with more compendious doctrinal expositions.

Third, though consistent enough to be distinguished from other texts, the Little Doctrine was not stable. Despite its strong link to Father Bartolomé Castaño, it was only partially his invention. Many other churchmen adopted it and added or subtracted one or a few questions as they saw fit. Some sustained the link to Castaño by mentioning his name; others treated it as a generic, anonymous work.

Fourth, indigenous people's appropriation of the Little Doctrine went beyond their exposure to the translations disseminated in their own languages, whether these were made by priests or by native translators. Indigenous people seem to have become so accustomed to this questionnaire that they considered it an essential element of catechetical memorization and recitation. This is why, when creating pictographic catechisms, they included a Little Doctrine along with the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and other ubiquitous catechismal statements.

Fifth, the presence of the Little Doctrine in the booklet-form pictographic catechisms supports a reevaluation of the dating of those pictorial manuscripts. The inclusion of a Little Doctrine moves any given pictographic catechism into the mid- to late seventeenth century at the earliest. The fact that this text is treated as a standard catechismal component, combined with the fact that there is no real evidence that such booklets were used in the sixteenth century, argues for a later origin for the genre as a whole.

Sixth, if these picture books did not exist before Castaño's questionnaire, they must have been intended for some purpose distinct from the sixteenth-century mendicant evangelization. Above I have described what seems to me the most likely scenario: the texts pertain to the efforts of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century indigenous elites to reinforce their political legitimacy by

emphasizing the strength and temporal depth of their Christianity. We know that this was a real concern, expressed in a number of performative and textual practices. My suggestion is that these nobles deployed pictographic catechisms for their own performances and in the catechesis of children in order to reenact a primordial acceptance of Christianity on the part of their dynastic ancestors, the picture-literate leaders who encountered the early mendicant friars. Other scenarios are possible, and once the manuscripts had come into existence, they may have been used for other purposes.

Seventh, this appropriation by indigenous elites inverts the colonizers' values. The creators of the picture books take a doctrinal questionnaire adapted to the supposedly limited mental capacity of "crude" native people and make it testify instead to the wisdom and faith of noble ancestors and community founders. In the more carefully executed pictographic versions, the questionnaire for "rustic people" becomes a thing of beauty. The makers of these books also assert the value and efficacy of picture writing many decades after alphabetic writing had superseded the ancestral modes of pictography.

Eighth, however bold this archaizing attempt to connect with and recover an aspect of the pre-Columbian past may have been, the pictographic catechisms supported the performance of fixed and strictly delimited texts, material indigenous people had to memorize if they sought to demonstrate to their priests that they met a minimum standard of Christian knowledge. The Little Doctrine itself reduces religion to a quiz, a faith taught to the test. Though highly experimental in format, with varying pictorial styles and varying solutions to the representation of particular words and phrases, the pictographic catechisms are not inventive in content. Though some contain catechismal texts—such as the beatitudes or the Rosary—not found in all examples, a standard set of Christian texts has been accepted and assimilated.

Ninth, and finally, the Little Doctrine merits more attention than I have given it here. Locating additional versions and analyzing the questions' adaptations into the various languages would provide further insights into the text's history and into the doctrinal practices pursued with and by different ethnic groups. So many people encountered this text, in one language or another, in the voice of a priest or a native catechist, in letters or in pictures, during and after the colonial era, that its paper trail tracks a widely shared experience. In its collective permutations, the Little Doctrine encapsulates, perhaps as well as any other colonial artifact, the limitations and impositions forced upon native Mesoamericans, as well as the grace and creativity with which they so often responded.

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Law of the Land? Hacienda Power and the Challenge of Republicanism in Postindependence Mexico

Timo Schaefer

Two Haciendas in the Currents of Transatlantic Liberalism

De la Laja

In the summer of 1822, José Encarnación Rodríguez, claiming to act on behalf of the residents of the Hacienda de la Laja, petitioned the government of the Mexican province of Guanajuato to elevate the estate's population of land-renting peasants to the status of a constitutional township. Six hundred souls lived on the estate, and more than two thousand within its immediate vicinity; a thousand residents were enough to entitle any settlement to a town government (*ayuntamiento*) under Article 310 of the Cádiz Constitution, whose provisions for local governance remained in effect in Guanajuato until the promulgation of a state constitution in 1826.¹ But Rodríguez imagined an *ayuntamiento* that would have been well staffed in a larger population. There were to be 3 mayors, various types of legal officers (*regidores*, *alguaciles*), and 16 watchmen (*topiles*). A veteran of the War of Independence, Rodríguez was not afraid to dream big. Five companies of soldiers would take up arms in the local militia. Three

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1. *Constitucion politica de la monarquia española*, art. 310.

ecclesiastical officers (*fiscales*) would assist a priest in attending to the population's spiritual needs, for de la Laja was to form its own parish.²

The landlords resisted the establishment of a municipal government on their estate. Hacienda residents lived on territory that was formally covered by the state's constitutional laws yet did not cease to belong to the landlord as his private property. Thus when claiming their rights as Mexican citizens, the de la Laja tenants were confronted with a right no less positive, no less supported by constitutional law, than their own. How to adjudicate between these conflicting sets of rights was far from clear. The Cádiz Constitution, while endowing towns (*pueblos*) of more than 1,000 inhabitants with the right to a municipal government, nowhere specified what constituted a pueblo. Did a pueblo require a certain density of population? A compactness of settlement? Colonial law at least suggested that urban status required as a territorial foundation a terrain for common pasture lands and house plots—a requirement that landlords, tenants, and political authorities in Guanajuato seem to have taken as axiomatic when discussing the de la Laja case, even though in the province there existed at least one ayuntamiento-ruled town situated entirely on land belonging to a hacienda.³ The creation of a municipal government on the de la Laja estate would thus require the expropriation of private property, allowed by the Cádiz Constitution, with prior indemnification of the owners, “for reasons of known utility.”⁴ What constituted public utility was undefined in law and hence open to argumentation.

Larger questions about the liberal republican paradigm and its implications for property relations lurked behind such legal ambiguities. Across Europe and Latin America, wherever old regimes had relied on the mediation of landed magnates to extend state power, the political dominance of landlords was not abolished with their feudal rights or their posts in colonial governing structures. To separate political power from property had been a major goal of liberal constitutionalists, and the extent to which such a division was achieved

2. “Expediente formado á consecuencia de la solicitud hecha ante S.M. el Sr. D.n Agustín 1.º Emperador de Mexico, p.r Don Encarnacion Rodriguez, vecino de Siláo sobre establecimiento de gobierno Municipal en el Pueblo de la Laja,” Guanajuato, 1822, Archivo General del Estado de Guanajuato (hereafter cited as AGEG), Municipios (hereafter cited as M), caja 1, exp. 3, fols. 7v–8r. (Hereafter references to these proceedings will simply provide the relevant caja, expediente, and folio number.)

3. *Recopilación de leyes*, book 4, title 7, laws 7, 13. The town entirely located on estate land was Casas Viejas, today San José Iturbide. See “Ynforme relativa a la Casa Consistorial de Casas Viejas,” 21 Nov. 1846, AGEG, M, caja 168, exp. 1.

4. *Constitucion politica de la monarquia española*, art. 172, para. 10.

was one way of marking the distance between old-regime absolutism and the brave new world of constitutional politics. But how could the sins of the past be put behind, and liberal regimes flourish, if whole settlements continued to exist on landlords' private domains? Where should the line be drawn between the rights of the landowner and the rights of tenants whose basic conditions of life depended on his property? In Mexico, none of the liberal luminaries who dominated the public debates of the decade made any attempt to come to terms with the conflict between the rights of property and those of citizenship. At a time when convictions about the noxious effects of indigenous corporate habits were fast becoming dogma, the illiberal effects of landed power in a country dotted with estate communities went unremarked.

Rodríguez's request initiated an inquiry that would drag on for almost two and a half years. As the case moved back and forth between the Council of State and the local government of the nearby town of Silao, to whose jurisdiction the estate belonged, the bungling inefficiency with which Rodríguez pursued his political proceedings contrasted with the modest grandeur of his vision. He enclosed two letters from estate residents with his petition. Both seem designed to install Rodríguez as the signatories' legal representative but are so badly written that it is necessary to guess at their meaning; a government commissioner in the city of Guanajuato called them "a jumble of nonsense composed of insignificant words, without rhyme or reason, without formality, undated, unsigned by their authors, which attests to their ignorance and stupidity."⁵ Worse still, when the town government of Silao sent an official to inquire into the case, the men listed in one of the documents as the heads of 19 ranchos declared that they had never seen the text to which they had supposedly subscribed. Rodríguez himself decided not to take part in the investigation, disregarding repeated requests to present himself before Silao's appointed commissioner.⁶

Yet the case was not dismissed. Instead, it stalled for the better part of two years, until in June 1824 Rodríguez and Gerónimo Estrada, a resident of the Hacienda de la Laja who had joined the case's representation, once more brought it to the government's attention and forced a final decision. At this point the estate owners had begun expelling residents unable to meet their rental obligations, according to Rodríguez and Estrada picking out those who had supported their case and replacing them with renters who promised to oppose any such endeavor.⁷ For the first time, the hacendados formulated a

5. AGE, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fol. 9v.

6. AGE, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fols. 12r, 18.

7. AGE, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fols. 26v-28v.

detailed response. They pointed out the procedural failings of their adversaries, who had never presented a valid power of representation from estate residents. They spoke of the sacred rights of property. Given Rodríguez and Estrada's ineptitude, it is hardly surprising that Guanajuato's Council of State denied their claims in terms that echoed those advanced by the hacendados.⁸ In a final twist, Rodríguez and Estrada now for the first time produced a power of representation, signed by 33 estate residents and dated September 1823—14 months before the final decision had been made. A fraudulent document retroactively dated? If not, the failure of Rodríguez and Estrada to produce it in time seems baffling indeed. The case being closed, the governor brushed it off with barely more than a sentence.⁹

Bizcocho

At the time that residents of the de la Laja hacienda requested that their population "be erected and established as a formal township,"¹⁰ the thriving hacienda economy of the late colonial era, expansive and entrepreneurial, had crumbled. In the eighteenth century, Guanajuato had been New Spain's economic powerhouse, a leading producer of agricultural, mining, and textile goods.¹¹ But economic growth had led to social dislocation and class antagonism, and it was in Guanajuato that Mexico's War of Independence originated in September 1810. Hit hard first by the fighting and then by Mexico's post-war depression, the province nevertheless remained at once one of the most urban and one of the most estate-dominated regions in the country: in the early 1820s, perhaps a third of the province's population lived on haciendas and another third in towns of more than 5,000 people, while the final part lived in smaller settlements and towns, some of them indigenous.¹² The social structure

8. AGEG, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fol. 38.

9. AGEG, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fols. 41v-44v.

10. AGEG, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fol. 16v (the original reads, "que se erija, y establezca por formal Pueblo").

11. Serrano Ortega, *Jerarquía territorial*, 33-42.

12. This estimate is quite uncertain. According to Guanajuato's 1826 governor's report, 392 haciendas existed in the state. Population counts for 14 haciendas exist in the municipal archive of León. Assuming these haciendas to be average-sized, a little more than 29 percent of Guanajuato's population lived on haciendas. Since this sample includes some very small but no very big resident communities, the number should be adjusted upward. Archivo Histórico Municipal de León (hereafter cited as AHML), Fondo "Jefatura Política," Sección "Estadísticas," Serie "Censos," caja 1, exps. 2, 4-11, 14, 17; *Memoria que presenta*. David Brading has estimated that in 1793 a third of Guanajuato's population lived in towns

of Guanajuato's agricultural production, however, had changed dramatically. The majority of hacienda residents now rented land to produce their own crops and market the surplus rather than find employment on their landlords' operations. Hacendados, whose large, integrated enterprises had controlled agriculture at the end of the colony, were demoted to a rentier class, and smallholding peasants dominated the rural economy.¹³

This new economic independence was a basic condition of possibility for the de la Laja tenants' township request, but it does not explain it; tenants on most estates enjoyed the same benefits without being tempted by the blandishments of political liberalism. The attempt of Rodríguez and the de la Laja tenants to create a municipal government on a private estate confronts us with a formidable interpretive challenge. For it was not only Rodríguez's erratic legal proceedings that allowed the provincial government to evade the constitutional dilemma posed by the case; it was also, and perhaps more fundamentally, a failure in communication. Whatever advantages residents on the de la Laja hacienda may have expected from living under a local government, they did not know how to express themselves in writing. The emancipatory intent of the estate residents' request is clear enough, but there is little in the documentary record that offers insight into anything but the broadest contours of their political imagination.

However, a second instance of estate residents pushing for a constitutional township in this period has survived in Guanajuato's government archive. The situation of the Hacienda del Bizcocho differed from that of the Hacienda de la Laja in a number of ways.¹⁴ Located in one of the country's remaining war zones during the final years of the independence struggle, the tenants' houses had twice been razed to the ground and then rebuilt by their owners. In 1819,

with more than 5,000 inhabitants; what the War of Independence did to that number is hard to fathom. Brading, *Miners and Merchants*, 227.

13. Tutino, "Revolution in Mexican Independence"; Chevalier, "Acerca de los orígenes"; García Ugarte, *Hacendados y rancheros*, 90–152, esp. 133–48 on the rise of a new smallholder class. In the terms of Eric Wolf's influential typology, Mexico's postwar agrarian economy was dominated by tenants (renters of land living on large estates) who behaved as if they were peasants, in control of the "processes of production." Wolf, "Types of Latin American Peasantry," 453–54.

14. "Cuaderno 2.o del Expediente que siguen los vecinos de San Diego del Biscocho con Don Narciso Alday, sobre que se erija en Pueblo aquella reunion. Contiene las pruebas producidas por ambas partes, y sus alegatos," Guanajuato, 1825, AGE, M, caja 15, exp. 7; "Cuaderno Num. 3.o Del Esped.te q.e siguen los vecinos del Viscocho con D. Narciso Alday, sobre erigirse en Pueblo," Guanajuato, 1825, AGE, M, caja 15, exp. 8. (Hereafter references to these proceedings will simply provide the relevant caja, expediente, and folio number.)

the Spanish commander Francisco de Orrantia had forced estate residents to relocate from their dispersed rental sites into one compact settlement nucleus in order to present a stronger front against insurgent attacks and, one presumes, a single focus for counterinsurgent surveillance.¹⁵ The congregated settlement had formed a municipal government in 1820 under the provisions of the Cádiz Constitution, and it was the hacienda owner who, in 1824 or 1825, began legal proceedings against his tenants on the grounds that their political organization violated his property rights. The tenants offered to compensate the owner for the land occupied by their fields and houses but refused to give up their political organization.¹⁶

Guanajuato's governing authorities appear to have been fully aware of the constitutional delicacy of the questions raised by the request. Although the first file belonging to the case has not been preserved, the two remaining documents, running to 89 and 77 folios, still comprise—by orders of magnitude—the most voluminous surviving record of a municipal political issue in the state of Guanajuato in the 1820s. With the help of a hired lawyer, the Bizcocho tenants compelled the government to face a predicament in which, to make constitutional law operative, it would be necessary to impinge on the inviolability of private property. In May 1826, the Council of State passed down for the governor's formal confirmation its ruling on the case: against the owner's opposition, the Bizcocho residents would be given the right to buy the territory on which their town had been built at a fair price. Further, they would be given the chance to buy a specified adjacent territory in order to allow for the settlement's future growth. However, against the tenants' request, the hacienda owner would not have to offer for sale the lands that they were cultivating, nor could he be forced to give tenants access to the estate's main water reservoir, crucial for raising cattle. The Bizcocho residents had won a limited victory.

Any adequate analysis of the de la Laja and Bizcocho tenants' attempts to reconstitute their estates as political townships will need to account for the scarcity of similar endeavors. They were the only such attempts in the 1820s that have left records in Guanajuato's state archive, though in view of the incompleteness of the archival record it is possible that there were at least a few others. It is at any rate clear that they were a rarity: at a time when a large percentage of Guanajuato's population lived on private estates, there cannot

15. On Spanish counterinsurgent activity in this area, see Hamnett, "Royalist Counterinsurgency."

16. The beginning of the case is summarized by Guanajuato's Council of State in AGEG, M, caja 15, exp. 8, fols. 21–28.

have been more than a handful of attempts to form municipal governments in any of them. And while there are records of similar endeavors in other regions of Mexico, they were everywhere uncommon.¹⁷ The de la Laja and Bizcocho cases are significant not because they were typical but because they were extraordinary. They were limit cases. Pushing the boundaries of estate tenants' political imagination, they revealed desires that a new republican politics was just beginning to sculpt out of the country's crumbling hacienda economy.

Liberalism and Local Change

Recent historical scholarship has emphasized the subversive impact that Mexico's new political system had on established local power structures, once thought to have been barely touched by the country's transition to self-rule. As the discourse of civic equality seeped into local politics, old relations of dominance became open to challenge. In some parts of the country, peasants, sharecroppers, and workers staked out positions in national policy debates they deemed locally relevant; demands for the adoption of protectionist policies and the expulsion of Spaniards from the country, for example, were widely supported by popular sectors.¹⁸ But republicanism was most significant for the changes it brought to local political arrangements. In many indigenous towns, new political forms upset traditional modes of authority and introduced a new axis of conflict into local political life. For example, the introduction of municipal democracy into polities organized around the prerogatives of patriarchal elders generated hybrid government structures that often simmered with tension.¹⁹

Estate communities have largely been absent from such scholarship on the effects of liberal republicanism on local political cultures, and indeed there seems to be something intuitively amiss with the notion of haciendas as political

17. For attempts by estate communities outside Guanajuato to gain municipal governments, see Sánchez Montiel, "De poblados de hacienda"; Sánchez Montiel, *De poblados de hacienda*. For a case from Oaxaca that reached the desks of government officials in Mexico City, see Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Gobernación, Sección Fomento, caja 18, exp. 1.

18. Guardino, *Peasants, Politics*; Ducey, *Nation of Villages*; Ríos Zúñiga, "Popular Uprising."

19. Guardino, *Time of Liberty*, puts more stress on the conflicts; Caplan, *Indigenous Citizens*, and Guarisco, *Los indios del valle*, on the syncretism that republican politics created in local political spaces.

spaces. The bigger Mexican towns in colonial times had already ruled their internal affairs through patrician town councils, indigenous villages through their communally constituted authorities. If the new political system after independence reworked how power was exercised in these settings, we know enough about their antecedents to place such changes in a line of historical progression. Haciendas, on the other hand, have often been studied as economic systems and seldom as human communities.²⁰ In the absence of easily visible formal institutions, the historiography has neglected the development of political traditions inside hacienda settlements.²¹ We know that the large Mexican estate emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a result of a joint (if often conflictive) endeavor by Spanish settlers and the Spanish crown to assure the colony's productivity by organizing the exploitation of its landed resources and indigenous labor force.²² In the seventeenth century, the Spanish crown abolished forced indigenous labor while recognizing the settlers' rights to territory over which they had established control by illegitimate and often violent means. As François Chevalier argued in his seminal work on the subject, these decisions allowed settlers to "withdraw, with their slaves, servants, and retainers, behind their own boundaries, where the sole authority was that exercised by the owner, the chaplain, and the handful of Spaniards and mestizos who controlled operations."²³ While later scholarship has shown that the actual power of hacienda owners over their resident workforce fluctuated with changing market conditions, the dependence of whole communities on landed property remained a salient fact before and after independence.²⁴

20. García Martínez, "Los poblados de hacienda," 332.

21. The lack of formal governing institutions in estate settlements has been stressed in Sánchez Montiel, "De poblados de hacienda," 59; Van Young, "Mexican Rural History," 19–20. See also García Martínez, "Los poblados de hacienda," 355–56, 359, on the lack of urban or spatial planning in the development of hacienda settlements.

22. Chevalier, *Land and Society*; Nickel, *Morfología social*, 42–47, 59–63, 67–69; Gibson, *Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, 58–31, 272–99.

23. Chevalier, *Land and Society*, 81. Charles Gibson, in *Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, 59, makes a similar point. The relation between the earlier encomienda system, in which Spaniards were given control over indigenous labor but (at least juridically) not over their land, and the later system that recognized settlers' territorial possessions but prohibited labor coercion, was, for a time, a burning question in the historiography. For succinct statements of the conflicting positions, see Lockhart, "Encomienda and Hacienda"; Keith, "Encomienda, Hacienda, and Corregimiento." For a summary of the literature, see Mörner, "Spanish American Hacienda," 186–88.

24. On social relations on colonial agrarian estates, see Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution*, 55–90; Brading, *Haciendas and Ranchos*, 8–12, 21, 24–27, 34–38, 73–77, 197–99;

That colonial haciendas lacked formal governing institutions does not mean that they had no political traditions. In a recent study, John Tutino has given us perhaps the first sustained description of the political structures that organized life and labor on colonial Mexican estates.²⁵ Hacendados “extended their power deep into estate communities” through estate administrators appointed from among the prosperous men who stood at the head of large family clans.²⁶ The resulting system of rule “cemented inequities across classes and within households,” and differed from the colony’s public administration by being organized not around corporate distinctions but around more unpredictable attributes such as kinship, wealth, prestige, and charisma—the informal sources of power of a patriarchal society.²⁷ As the stability of this internal hierarchy depended on the hacendado’s backing, it is hard to see how the de la Laja and Bizcocho tenants’ request for a municipal government could have sprung from the hacienda’s established political structures. But some colonial hacienda settlements also developed a second, oppositional type of political organization. In colonial Mexico, indigenous populations, who on ethnically mixed estates were subordinate to their Hispanic neighbors, sometimes petitioned viceregal authorities for their own governments, as the de la Laja and Bizcocho tenants would do later.²⁸ Such populations demanded to be recognized as *repúblicas de indios* (Indian republics), a political category endowed with corporate privileges and duties. Nineteenth-century hacienda settlements seeking the creation of constitutional townships shared many of the objectives expressed in such colonial-era petitions: political autonomy, control over land and other resources.²⁹ However, the postwar political context added new dimensions to even these most time-honored of peasant demands, making it necessary to analyze such demands apart from their colonial precedents.

The de la Laja and Bizcocho tenants launched their appeals in the aftermath of a social and political revolution that had anchored Mexican

Van Young, *Hacienda and Market*, 236–69; García Ugarte, *Hacendados y rancheros*, 64–65; Bazant, *Cinco haciendas mexicanas*, 29, 41; Nickel, *Morfología social*, 73–89; Gibson, *Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, 246–56. For the more coercive labor conditions on estates in southern and northern New Spain, see Taylor, *Landlord and Peasant*, 144–52; Harris, *Mexican Family Empire*, 58–78.

25. Tutino, *Making a New World*, 142–44, 352–402.

26. *Ibid.*, 367.

27. *Ibid.*, 366.

28. On this issue, see Chevalier, “Acerca de los orígenes,” 5; Tutino, *Making a New World*, 391–97; Ramírez Vega, “Indios, poblamiento y fundación,” 59–125.

29. Chevalier, “Acerca de los orígenes”; Sánchez Montiel, “De poblados de hacienda.”

independence in the ideological currents of transatlantic liberalism. They started conflicts broadly similar to the intracommunal dissensions that the republican political system generated in some indigenous towns during the same period. Insisting on the relevance of liberal doctrine for local politics, the petitioners confronted other residents who held on to traditional, landlord-dominated forms of authority, a situation with parallels in the Zapotec communities of Oaxaca's Sierra Norte studied by Peter Guardino. There, conflicts emerged between literate youngsters, who made use of new electoral rules to gain positions of power, and traditionalists, who thought that such positions should remain restricted to established patriarchs.³⁰ In the case of de la Laja, this division appears to have reflected race and class dynamics of a kind that, as José Antonio Serrano Ortega has shown, became a structural element of GuanaJuan politics after independence.³¹ Thus residents who supported Rodríguez's request referred to themselves as *indios* in a document that they redacted; although the ethnicity of Rodríguez's supporters played no further role in the case, this does suggest that it was the poorer classes of tenants who felt they had most to gain from having a municipality on the de la Laja estate. By contrast, the heads of the more prosperous ranchos dissociated themselves from Rodríguez and his project.

But as striking as what these cases shared with other popular appropriations of liberalism in postindependence Mexico is what set them apart. The struggle to create constitutional townships in estate communities became inseparable from the struggle to expropriate at least some hacienda lands and distribute them among residents. Land in nineteenth-century Mexico continued to function as an instrument of social control as much as a means of production: what was at issue in the struggle between landlords and tenants on the de la Laja and Bizcocho estates was not merely the control of land but also the control over people and their labor that this entailed. What was at issue, in other words, were the informal political attributions that landownership would confer in a country ruled by a liberal constitution—a practical question to which liberal doctrine might suggest different and contradictory responses. The concentration of economic, social, and political relations within the institution of landownership transformed the attempts by estate tenants to form municipal governments into high-stakes conflicts about the meaning of liberal republicanism that left little room for compromise: in estate communities, no syncretism between old and new political forms was possible.

30. Guardino, *Time of Liberty*, 223–74.

31. Serrano Ortega, *Jerarquía territorial*.

Haciendas and Republican Legality

The Problem Argued: Landowners

In order to explore what was at stake in the tenants' request to form their own ayuntamientos, we can begin by attending to the arguments made by their adversaries. The hacendados at once built on and went beyond the reasoning employed by urban centers to combat the establishment of ayuntamientos in dependent smaller towns, whose petitions for municipal governments were much more common than those of estate communities. Resisting loss of control over nearby towns and villages, Guanajuato's urban centers—above all León, San Miguel, Celaya, and the city of Guanajuato itself—alleged that their former dependencies lacked education or civility and, less often, financial resources; self-government would be impossible in settlements that lacked men of the necessary aptitude to fill government posts and money to cover essential expenses.³² The hacendados echoed such arguments. "They are very ignorant, they lack mores [*costumbres*], they are mired in the greatest poverty," the de la Laja owners reported of their tenants. The Bizcocho owner's lawyer asserted that there were not enough literate men on the estate to renew an ayuntamiento each year, as required by law.³³

But for the hacendados these were rhetorical routines meant to bolster another, more important line of argumentation. In contrast to the politicians of Guanajuato's large urban centers, the owners of the de la Laja and Bizcocho estates attacked the premises of independent Mexico's liberal ideology itself, not by assaulting it frontally but by shifting the grounds of the argument from the abstractions of constitutional law to its applicability in estate communities. The lawyer for the Bizcocho estate argued that his client's tenants had given up all links to political society, to which each had been vertically attached by virtue of their landlord's benevolent care, when they left their dispersed rental sites and formed themselves into a compact settlement. "These inhabitants, for the reason that they are for the main part farmhands [*gañanes*], are more in need of

32. Patricians' arguments about a lack of the requisite levels of education and civility needed to form ayuntamientos, especially in indigenous towns, are emphasized in Serrano Ortega, *Jerarquía territorial*, 153–59. For arguments about smaller towns' financial incapacity on top of this civilizational deficit, see "Espediente instruido á consecuencia de la solicitud q. hacen varios vecinos del Mineral de S. Pedro de los Pozos . . .," 1835, AGE, M, caja 132, exp. 8; report on the interior government of Purísima del Rincón and San Francisco del Rincón, 18 Feb. 1843, AGE, M, caja 157, exp. 3.

33. AGE, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fol. 31r; AGE, M, caja 15, exp. 8, fol. 9v.

the quiet of the countryside for their daily work than of the bustle that perverts and distracts them.”³⁴ This was a nostalgic conservatism, harkening back to a time when arms had labored and harvests ripened under the warm sun of landlord paternalism, but it gained support from the tenants’ actions during the legal proceedings. In order to raise money to pay their lawyer, the case’s main promoters engaged in what the hacendado’s lawyer claimed was an act of extortion, threatening that those tenants unwilling to pay up would not be able to keep living on town land once the case had been won. The tenants’ lawyer did not deny the accusation, arguing instead that the method was common and inevitable in legal cases involving multiple litigants.³⁵ The estate’s lawyer took it as evidence of a despotism by which a handful of well-off peasants imposed their will on an ignorant multitude, a taste of the reign of injustice awaiting Bizcocho should the tenants’ request be granted.³⁶

If the Bizcocho estate lawyer’s argument was circumstantial rather than principled, the owners of the de la Laja estate defended their rights by a mix of exposition, argument, and rhetoric that moved seamlessly from the personal shortcomings of Rodríguez to the legal and intellectual shortcomings of his project, and from there to a terse discussion of the propertied bases of political liberty. Rodríguez was “an idle person, of an outside jurisdiction, ambitious to boss people around.” Without authority from any of the estate’s more substantial neighbors, he “carried the voice of a few day laborers designated by him,” yet he was unable to document his representation even of these people’s will.³⁷ The landlords contrasted the illegitimacy of the tenants’ representative with the immutability of individual rights, which were “independent of any political authority”; even tyrants protected property.³⁸ The owners were confident enough to acknowledge that it was in principle possible for a liberal government to expropriate property, given evidence of an urgent public need and proper indemnification of the owners.³⁹ But for the time being, the irregularity of Rodríguez’s proceedings made any discussion about the public utility of granting their tenants’ request irrelevant.⁴⁰ The idler Rodríguez and his day laborers—this was the point—had failed to establish their right to

34. AGEg, M, caja 15, exp. 8, fol. 16r.

35. AGEg, M, caja 15, exp. 7, fol. 82.

36. AGEg, M, caja 15, exp. 8, fols. 5r–6v, 8r–9r.

37. AGEg, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fol. 29r.

38. AGEg, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fol. 30.

39. AGEg, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fol. 30r.

40. AGEg, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fol. 31r.

appear before the state politically, while property's right to state protection was "one of the bases of the liberal system."⁴¹

In making these arguments, the landowners moved the debate from the level of constitutional legality to that of the constitution's operation in concrete settings. De la Laja's day laborers had failed to establish themselves as legal subjects capable of challenging property's a priori right to state protection; the Bizcocho tenants would lose any political attributes once they cut their links to the institution of landownership, represented by the hacendado. The conditions for citizenship, the owners' reasoning implied, were too abstract to form a reliable foundation for a catalogue of rights; social reality was primary. Heirs to Edmund Burke's pragmatic conservatism, the owners opposed the utopianism of the constitution's social premises with the evidence of the world as it existed: a world held together by their propertied power.

Haciendas and the Law

The lawyers' arguments were powerful because they accorded with what people already knew about estate communities. In the 1820s, Guanajuatan hacienda populations saw an unsystematic, even haphazard blending of public and private domains of power. As in other outlying settlements, the ayuntamientos of nearby towns appointed auxiliary officers (called *alcaldes auxiliares* after 1826) to guard the peace and represent constitutional authority.⁴² These officers were thinly spread; single men often kept watch over various estate and smallholder (*ranchero*) settlements.⁴³ Yet unlike other rural settlements lacking self-government, many haciendas were home to large and relatively dense populations. As spaces of sociability, the larger ones had more in common with pueblos than with the dispersed agricultural settlements, or *rancherías*, for which they often acted as social and economic centers.⁴⁴ They were public spaces. They

41. AGE, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fol. 30.

42. As with many aspects of local political life, Guanajuato's 1826 state constitution formalized and generalized arrangements that at least in some places had developed in the early 1820s. See *Constitucion politica del estado libre de Guanajuato*, art. 148; copy of edict, 4 Jan. 1824, "Actas del Ayuntamiento de San Luis de la Paz," 19 May 1827, AGE, M, caja 37, exp. 3.

43. "Actas del Ayuntamiento de Dolores Hidalgo," 22 Aug. 1828, AGE, M, caja 64, exp. 5; letter from Silao, 30 May 1826, AGE, M, caja 28, exp. 2.

44. François-Xavier Guerra has made the same point about haciendas during the Porfiriato. Guerra, *México*, 134.

hosted large gatherings such as cockfights, dances (*fandangos*), and weekly markets, sometimes with government license, but often without.⁴⁵

As fields of heightened social intercourse, estates nevertheless lacked the regulating mechanisms that mediated conflict in other comparable settings. Disputes within hacienda boundaries or between haciendas and neighboring communities were often settled by the law of the strongest.⁴⁶ It was but a small step to claim that landlord authority was all that stood between these communities and chaos. Hacienda owners and their administrators in fact remained a preponderant force in matters of estate-internal political administration. At various times, municipal governments entrusted landlords with issues as diverse as the convocation of estate residents for municipal elections, the publication of laws and decrees issued by Congress, the computation of population statistics, the collection of taxes, the apprehension of troublemakers for military service, the regulation of weights and measures at local markets, the repair of public roads running through estate properties, and, perhaps most significantly, the policing of estate communities and the surrounding countryside.⁴⁷ During the

45. For cockfights, see "Actas de Ayuntamiento de Silao," Mar. 1827, AGEG, M, caja 44, exp. 8. For dances, see "Actas de Ayuntamiento de Casas Viejas," 4 Dec. 1828, AGEG, M, caja 63, exp. 1; "Actas del Ayuntamiento de Casas Viejas," 27 May 1820, AGEG, M, caja 83, exp. 1; "Espediente formado para la aprobación de los reglamentos . . .," AGEG, M, caja 170, exp. 2. Dances on estates also turn up in criminal proceedings, since they could be the settings of brawls that led to homicides. See AHML, Justicia, Causas Criminales, caja 3, exp. 8, caja 4, exp. 12. For markets, which were much harder to conceal, see letters from San Pedro Piedra Gorda dated 14 June and 16 Aug. 1824, AGEG, M, caja 4, exp. 6, fols. 6, 13; "Espediente instruido á solicitud de los vecinos de Yrapuato, p.a. extinguir los mercados q. se forman en las Haciendas y Rancherías," 1825, caja 15, exp. 6, fols. 1-15; "Actas de Ayuntamiento de Casas Viejas," 5 Apr. 1827, AGEG, M, caja 42, exp. 3; "Actas de Ayuntamiento de Casas Viejas," 3 and 10 Dec. 1829, AGEG, M, caja 77, exp. 5; "Espediente instruido . . . para suspender los mercados que se hacían en varios puntos de la municipalidad," AGEG, M, caja 159, exp. 2; *bando* published in Casas Viejas, 2 May 1836, AGEG, M, caja 134, exp. 4; letter from San Miguel de Allende, 26 June 1840, AGEG, M, caja 149, exp. 6.

46. For examples of conflicts in which hacienda owners or tenants resorted to violence rather than the law to further their interests, see letter from San Felipe, 8 Jan. 1825, AGEG, M, caja 13, exp. 14; letter from San Felipe, 1 Sept. 1827, AGEG, M, caja 46, exp. 6; letter from Pénjamo, 4 July 1834, AGEG, Justicia (hereafter cited as J), caja 23, exp. 5.

47. On the convocation for elections, see letter from Neutla signed by Ignacio Vasquez Tejeda, 1826, AGEG, M, caja 27, exp. 4. On the publication of laws and decrees, see AGEG, M, caja 1, exp. 2, fol. 28. On the formation of statistics, see "Actas de Ayuntamiento de Apaseo," 23 Oct. 1829, AGEG, M, caja 78, exp. 2; AHML, Fondo "Jefatura Política," Sección "Estadísticas," Serie "Comunicaciones," caja 1, exp. 22, 1826; AHML, Fondo "Jefatura Política," Sección "Estadísticas," Serie "Censos," caja 1, exps. 1-18, 1822-1828. On the

1820s, this practice of endowing landowners with political responsibilities remained ad hoc and haphazard, as municipal authorities scripted and rescripted the exercise of public authority in response to circumstantial needs. Administrative requests from town governments were often addressed to *alcaldes auxiliares* and estate owners or administrators at the same time, reflecting the expectation that if one type of authority would not be up to handling a particular issue, the other might.

Haciendas in these years acquired a reputation as places of general lawlessness. When neighbors of the town of Irapuato complained to Guanajuato's state congress about the illegal markets formed on various outlying haciendas, they named a whole host of ills that flowed from the lack of proper government on estate settlements: the state was defrauded of its fiscal rights, deserters walked free, religious duties were not regarded, prostitutes set up their trade, robbery flourished, stolen goods were openly sold. Wrongdoers knew that on haciendas "there are no judges they need to respect; there are no troops to intimidate them; there is nobody to watch over their conduct; nor are there jails in which they can be punished." The commission charged by Congress with considering these allegations did not hesitate to accept them as true.⁴⁸

Landowners insisting on the inapplicability of republican law on their lands thus spoke into an echo chamber of common knowledge. Haciendas possessed a number of characteristics that marked them as unique territories in the spatial operationalization of legal sovereignty, as different from small villages and other agricultural settlements as they were from constitutional townships. Deprived of the institutions necessary to make republican law operative, they were left in what Miranda Spieler, writing about the French Caribbean during the second half of the 1790s, has called "a state of spatio-legal indeterminacy."⁴⁹ If French legislators made sure that the emancipatory intent of revolutionary law would not become a sustainable reality in France's

collection of taxes, see "Actas de sesión del Ayuntamiento de San Francisco de Chamacuero," 12 Mar. 1827, AGE G, M, caja 39, exp. 1; "Actas de Ayuntamiento de Casas Viejas," 3 and 10 Dec. 1829, AGE G, M, caja 77, exp. 5. On weights and measures, see "Actas de Ayuntamiento," Aug. 1827, AGE G, M, caja 40, exp. 3. On military recruitment, see "Acta de Ayuntamiento de Casas Viejas," 6 Aug. 1829, AGE G, M, caja 77, exp. 5. On roads, see "Actas de Ayuntamiento de Apaseo," 26 June 1829, AGE G, M, caja 4, exp. 1, fols. 13-14, caja 8, exp. 5, fol. 1, caja 78, exp. 2; García Martínez, "Los poblados de hacienda," 363-64. On policing, see "Actas de Ayuntamiento de Casas Viejas," 22 Apr. 1830, AGE G, M, caja 83, exp. 1; Archivo Municipal de Guanajuato, Biblioteca Armando Olivares Carillo, Ayuntamiento de Guanajuato, Militar, caja 11, doc. 978, caja 13, doc. 1135, fols. 1-15.

48. AGE G, M, caja 15, exp. 6, fols. 1-15.

49. Spieler, "Legal Structure," 401.

Caribbean territories, Guanajuato's landowning lawgivers similarly constituted estate properties and their resident communities as spaces of institutional vacancy in which the republic's egalitarian political culture could not take root. The de la Laja and Bizcocho residents launched their requests to form constitutional townships from the midst of a legal wasteland.

Hacienda Production and the Politics of Labor

The Problem Disputed: Eviction

The owners of the de la Laja and Bizcocho haciendas argued that their tenants were incapable of self-rule; only the owners' benign care could return them into the fold of law and civilization. The tenants countered the landlords' arguments by attempting to show that the principle of property, far from solving the problem of the illegality that purportedly thrived on haciendas, was its root cause. Irreconcilable conceptions about property's role in the social order emerge clearly from the way that the question of rental eviction inserted itself into the struggle over the erection of a constitutional township on the Hacienda de la Laja. Such evictions, according to Rodríguez and Estrada, eventually became part of the landowners' strategy in opposing their tenants' demand for a municipal government. A number of tenants, "on account of their misery and the calamities of the weather," had fallen into arrears with rent payments, giving the landowners a pretext for "the expulsion of the old tenant, and settlement of the new one, who has offered to oppose himself to the pretension of erecting a township on the hacienda."⁵⁰ But the issue of tenant eviction had come up even before the landlords could have started taking reprisals: in one of the two documents that Rodríguez inserted into his original request for a local government, estate resident Hilario López had argued that the hacienda owners, clinging to powers they had enjoyed under colonial law, now wanted "to take away [*levantar*] the farms, of their sweat and blood, of all the poor dependent laborers [*operarios y gañanes*]."⁵¹ Among the "jumble of nonsense" in López's presentation, this sentence stands out for its compressed rhetorical elegance. In it we glimpse a historical understanding that contrasts the old preeminence of idle ownership with the new rights of labor, here rendered in a biblical image of arduous bodily toil. By the same token, the owners, rather than downplaying or denying such evictions, turned their ability to force nonpaying tenants off their land into a matter of principle: "We believe that they [Rodríguez and Estrada]

50. AGE G, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fol. 26r.

51. AGE G, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fol. 5v.

and those who direct them are ignorant of [the new republican laws], because only that way is it possible to explain the complaint they have and express, that we charge [our tenants] the rents that they justly have to pay us, and of which they judge that their disordered attempt to form a township has already freed them."⁵² Conflating the tenants' request to be granted a municipal government and their complaint about politically motivated evictions, the hacendados claimed that the petitioners wanted to turn the world upside down, "to bring about . . . an admirable metamorphosis by which we are left despoiled of our worthy rights, and our renters or tenants [*inquilinos ó arrendatarios*] are converted into the owners of houses, lands, etc."⁵³

The ability to buy house plots at nonarbitrary prices represented a significant victory for the residents of the Bizcocho estate because it broke the landlords' control over the conditions of their tenants' private lives; residents unable to rent agricultural land might now work for their neighbors or exercise other trades without losing their place in the world. In the de la Laja case, Rodríguez and Estrada never clarified how they thought the transition from estate community to constitutional township would work out with respect to ownership rights. Would hacienda land be expropriated and made public? Would house plots be distributed to residents? But beyond the tenants and hacendados' immediate dispute, the principled language used by Hilario López to denounce tenant evictions and by the landlords to defend them, drawing as it did on the symbols, clichés, and aphorisms of ideological contention, also demands that we consider this struggle in its wider political context. Though attempts to create townships on haciendas were rare, they were not, after all, isolated from Mexico's larger history of postcolonial conflict.

Labor and Politics

Hilario López's comment about the "sweat and blood" by which tenants had built their farms drew on a set of semantic conventions that were among the most consequential (and least remarked) innovations in Mexico's postcolonial political culture. Mexico's revolution for independence, like the French Revolution before it, crystallized a far-reaching revaluation of the place of labor in human society.⁵⁴ If during the height of the old regimes a man's distance from

52. AGE, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fol. 30r.

53. AGE, M, caja 1, exp. 3, fol. 30v.

54. For the French case, see Sewell, *Work and Revolution*, esp. 62–91; Sewell, *Rhetoric of Bourgeois Revolution*.

menial labor provided a good measure of his social position, under the influence of Enlightenment philosophy the performance of labor became a matter of pride, for in the ideology of liberal republicanism, it was social utility that provided the surest estimate of a citizen's worth.⁵⁵ The glorification of useful labor—which William Sewell has argued was the great contribution of the Abbé Sieyès's famous pamphlet *What is the Third Estate?* to the French Revolution—in the functional language of Mexico's first constitutional texts appeared in the form of an unassuming negative: among a host of reasons for which Spanish adult men could have their citizen rights suspended, the Cádiz Constitution included "having no employment, profession, or known way of earning a living."⁵⁶ The other reasons on the list named extraordinary attributes or conditions: being judged physically or morally incapacitated, having declared bankruptcy, being criminally prosecuted, or—in a provision that drew on the assumption that anyone living under another man's roof did not possess a separate political identity—being employed as a domestic servant. But only the necessity of employment or of exercising a profession was made into a positive baseline for any claim to citizenship rights.⁵⁷ Mexico's 1824 federalist constitution deferred the definition of qualities necessary for the exercise of political rights to the individual states, which included the Cádiz Constitution's insistence on labor without exception.⁵⁸ For men not privileged with other sources of income, to claim the rights belonging to Mexican citizenship meant to validate their working habits.

In the early republican years, this new labor ideal, supported by the patriarchal norm that men provide for and protect their dependent families, among poor Mexicans was given unrivaled urgency due to the institution of the army draft, which combined objectives of national defense with those of social control.⁵⁹ While regulated on a state-by-state basis, military recruitment

55. Voekel, *Alone before God*; Guardino, "La identidad nacional," 266. For a study of the development of an ideology of labor in urban Peru during this period, see Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens*.

56. *Constitucion politica de la monarquia española*, art. 25.

57. In the last item in this list, the constitution imagined a future (after the year 1830) when citizens would also have to be literate.

58. For a comparative analysis of Mexico's first state constitutions, see Guzmán López, "Ciudadanía y educación," 191–213. In the *Constitucion politica del estado libre de Guanajuato*, the list of attributes leading to a suspension of citizenship, which is only slightly modified from the Cádiz model, is given in Article 20.

59. On colonial-era patriarchal norms, see Tutino, "Revolution in Mexican Independence," 376–78; Tutino, *Making a New World*, 109–11, 143–44, 359–90; Guardino, *Time of Liberty*, 35–38, 60–63.

provisions were used throughout Mexico to rid local societies of criminals and idlers who did not fulfill their expected masculine roles as breadwinners and caretakers.⁶⁰ In Guanajuato, as in other Mexican states, local authorities drafted those men whose idleness, sexual indiscretion, or rowdy behavior was regarded as a threat to social peace and economic prosperity. For example, in a typical group of five army recruits, sent to the state capital from the town of Dolores Hidalgo in 1826, four men had been convicted as idlers (*vagos*): one who, although having a profession, “does not exercise it,” and three who claimed to be farmers but were unable to prove that they were actually cultivating their lands. The fifth recruit had been picked “for being immoral [*vicioso*], having abandoned his wife without providing for her.”⁶¹ Recruits or their families wanting to appeal local recruitment decisions wrote petitions deploying the same rhetoric of labor that had originally condemned them, asserting that they did, in fact, earn their family’s bread by the sweat of their brows.⁶²

The threat of military recruitment planted the liberal labor ideology deep within the lifeworld of Mexico’s lower classes. Postindependence Mexico developed a political culture in which what William Sewell has called “the socialist vision of labor as the constituent activity of the social and political order” gained a prominence that may have been unique in the contemporary Atlantic world.⁶³ At a time when the French working classes were struggling to adjust the corporatist idiom of guilds and journeymen organizations to their postrevolutionary reality, in Mexico the language of labor was already a medium for transcending corporatist identities and strongly contributed to the unification of the country’s political culture.⁶⁴ If historians have not paid more attention to this surprising appearance of a socialist (or protosocialist) language during the founding years of one of the world’s first postcolonial societies, that surely has much to do with the nonconfrontational setting in which the language took root. Military recruitment was above all an instrument for defusing

60. Serrano Ortega, *El contingente de sangre*. On the details of military recruitment in a later period, see Thompson, “Los indios.”

61. Letter from Dolores Hidalgo, 1 Oct. 1826, AGE, J, caja 6, exp. 6. For a few examples of similar lists, see AGE, Guerra (hereafter cited as G), caja 3, exp. 3, caja 8, exps. 10, 17, caja 10, exp. 6, caja 12, exp. 4, caja 14, exps. 3, 8, 11.

62. For example, various petitions from 1826, AGE, J, caja 6, exp. 2, caja 29, exp. 1; petitions from José Antonio Rodríguez and Francisco González, AGE, G, caja 2, exp. 6; petition from Juan Luis [Luluche?], AGE, G, caja 2, exp. 10; petition from José Mariano, AGE, G, caja 8, exp. 13.

63. Sewell, *Work and Revolution*, 277.

64. *Ibid.*, 162–218.

social conflict, not mobilizing it; the discourse linking labor and citizenship functioned as an instrument of social control as much as a vehicle for liberal subversion. In this regard, the mainstream of Mexican politics was aligned with the fringe of European thought. These were the years, before the social and political conflagrations of 1848, when European socialism was emerging as a variant of liberalism rather than its antithesis.⁶⁵ The utopian socialism of thinkers like Robert Owen or Charles Fourier dreamed of reconciling social interests but did not stray from an emphasis on individual enterprise and effort.⁶⁶

Yet the new celebration of labor as the most important of social activities did carry a subversive charge. Colonial Guanajuato had been part of one of the world's earliest areas of capitalist development. Unlike in central and southern Mexico, ethnic identities in this region were relatively weak, while class antagonism had already once flared into violent conflict during the popular riots prompted by Bourbon reform policies in 1767.⁶⁷ In Mexico's postwar reconstruction economy, in which peasants working on small or medium-sized parcels of land came not only to animate but also to direct the bulk of productive activity in the countryside, the idea that men constituted themselves as citizens above all through their socially useful labor became all the more compelling. In reporting on local economic conditions, small-town politicians, who generally occupied social and economic positions between smallholding tenants and estate-owning patricians, converted the language of labor into a vehicle of political critique. While Mexico's economic depression could also serve as a lightning rod for postcolonial nostalgia, the majority of municipal politicians praised the work ethic of the local peasantry and lambasted the stranglehold that the idle ownership of land exerted over the agricultural economy.⁶⁸ Thus the mayor of Pénjamo charged that landlords discouraged peasant investment

65. Ibid., 277–78; Beecher, *Victor Considerant*, 5. The points of contact between the utopian socialists and John Stuart Mill's liberalism as it developed in the 1840s are especially stressed by Heilbroner, *Worldly Philosophers*, 170–212; Levin, "John Stuart Mill."

66. The conceptual opposition between labor and capital dates from the polarizing context of 1840s France and became a fixture in European public discourse after 1848. On the conceptual complementarity of labor and property in early nineteenth-century England, see Jones, *Languages of Class*, 90–178. On the polarizing effect of 1848, see Sewell, *Work and Revolution*, 282; Sperber, *European Revolutions*, 187–92.

67. Castro Gutiérrez, *Nueva ley*; Tutino, *Making a New World*, 228–60.

68. On the tendency of Mexican elites to make unfavorable comparisons between the country's present-day decadence and late colonial splendor, see García Ugarte, *Hacendados y rancheros*, 91–92; Costeloe, *Central Republic*, 25–26.

by raising rents whenever their tenants made improvements on the land they were working. He explained that, although the more than 400 farms comprising the two major local haciendas were “susceptible to all classes of produce, the people who possess [i.e., rent] them don’t risk spending any money on them . . . for even the smallest improvement that a tenant makes on his farm . . . already serves as a powerful motive for increasing his rent or taking the farm away from him.”⁶⁹ According to another report, the threat of eviction could be effective even absent a strong market for land rentals because hacendados always had the option of converting fields into cattle pastures; tenants went along with increased payments in order “not to lose homesteads [*hogares*] that for so many years they have watered with their sweat.”⁷⁰ Many observers cited exorbitant land rents as powerful depressants of the local economy and exalted the labor of the peasantry—“a class of people,” in the words of the mayor of Silao, “deserving of every privilege and attention.”⁷¹ A few such reports suggested concrete measures to Guanajuato’s state government. For example, the town government of San Luis de la Paz recommended a legal ceiling on land rents, so as “to contain the arbitrariness of the hacendados”; Pénjamo’s proposed a government-supervised sale of hacienda lands to laboring tenants or, should that be impracticable, the enforcement of a nine-year lease for all land rents.⁷²

Such proposals were written for pragmatic rather than ideological purposes and do not appear to have circulated outside administrative channels. Yet they anticipated policy initiatives that a few years later would shake up other Mexican states. For example, under the liberal governorship of Francisco García (1829–1835), Zacatecas took measures to support the breakup and sale of hacienda lands to smallholders, while a struggle between liberal and conservative factions in San Luis Potosí in the late 1820s and early 1830s revolved at least partly around the liberal attempt to protect smallholding tenants from

69. “Estado que manifiesta los ramos en que consiste la Agricultura . . .,” 8 Aug. 1826, AGE, M, caja 29, exp. 11. For a very similar argument, from the ayuntamiento of San Luis de la Paz, see AGE, M, caja 6, exp. 11, fols. 52–53.

70. AGE, M, caja 6, exp. 11, fols. 52–53.

71. Letter from Dolores Hidalgo, 27 Mar. 1827, AGE, M, caja 46, exp. 4; letter from Silao, 7 Dec. 1829, AGE, M, caja 77, exp. 14; annual municipal report from Acámbaro, 1830, AGE, M, caja 99, exp. 1; letter from Silao, 21 Nov. 1826, AGE, M, caja 29, exp. 17.

72. AGE, M, caja 6, exp. 11, fols. 52–53; “Estado que manifiesta los ramos en que consiste la Agricultura . . .,” 8 Aug. 1826, AGE, M, caja 29, exp. 11.

arbitrary land evictions.⁷³ At the level of national debate, proposals aimed at redistributing Spanish-owned land had been made during the War of Independence and throughout the 1820s, most notably by Carlos María de Bustamante at the First Constituent Congress in 1822.⁷⁴ During the 1833–1834 liberal administration of Valentín Gómez Farías, when public discourse for brief moments assumed openly classist dimensions, radical newspapers like *El Fénix de la Libertad* extended such proposals to large landholdings irrespective of their owners' nationality.⁷⁵ Little is known about the background and social base of such pronouncements, but it seems reasonable to suppose that the agrarian reform initiatives of the 1830s, advocated by rabble-rousing publicists and partially made into policy in some states, grew out of an undercurrent of critique of the kind developed by Guanajuato's local politicians. Intrepid estate communities like de la Laja and Bizcocho were among the first to elevate such critiques to matters of public debate and justifications for political confrontation.

The Problem Argued: Tenants

Mexico's history of postcolonial ideological innovation helps us understand why Guanajuato's elites lavished so much attention on a case as bunglingly pursued as the township request presented by Rodríguez. The struggle between landowners and tenants was fraught with the implications of its context; incorporating the exaltation of labor into a strategy of escalation, Rodríguez and the de

73. On Zacatecas, see Brading, *Haciendas and Ranchos*, 202–3; Chevalier, "Acerca de los orígenes," 6–7. In San Luis Potosí, a number of ambitious legal attempts between 1827 and 1829 to regulate estate tenancies were canceled by a new administration in 1831. See the following documents from Archivo Histórico del Estado de San Luis Potosí, *Leyes y Decretos*: vol. "Decretos. 1825–1831," circular no. 22, 27 Feb. 1827, circular no. 103, 5 May 1828, circular, 20 May 1829; vol. "2.º Congreso Constitucional del Estado, Bienio de 1829 y 30. Decretos espeditos por el mismo desde su instalacion en 1.º de Enero de 1829 hasta 22 de Julio de 1830, que fue disuelto por acuerdlo de la junta de vecinos de esta ciudad," circular no. 50, 30 Sept. 1829; vol. "1831, 32 y 34. Decretos del 3.er y 4.º Congreso del Estado," circular no. 10, 28 Feb. 1831.

74. Reyes Heroles, *El liberalismo mexicano*, 128–30; Griffin, *Los temas sociales*, 47–48.

75. Costeloe, *Central Republic*, 33. The radical agrarian discourse increased again after a return to the federalist system in the late 1840s, and it was introduced into the 1856–1857 Constituent Congress by "social liberals" such as José María Castillo Velasco, Ponciano Arriaga, and Isidoro Olvera, without, however, being adopted into the final constitutional document. See Guardino, *Peasants, Politics*, 196–201; Zarco, *Historia del Congreso*, 312–13, 363–64, 387–404, 690–97.

la Laja tenants converted their particular concerns into stand-ins for an acute ideological challenge. Guanajuato's elites had good reason to take them seriously.

But it was the lawyer of the Bizcocho tenants who most fully put the liberal labor ideology—and the critique of rural property relations that it made possible—at the service of his clients' legal struggle. He praised the tenants in language that might have been lifted straight out of the Abbé Sieyès's pamphlet: they were of "the useful, productive classes of citizens, those [classes] that should be seen with the just consideration deserved by [people] who profess honorable professions that promote production, supplying the well-being of all."⁷⁶ He proposed a thought experiment designed to show that, on the Bizcocho estate, ayuntamiento rule would have a dynamic effect on a social reality stunted by landlord power. Suppose for a moment, he suggested, that what was false was true, and the Bizcocho settlement consisted for the most part of idle troublemakers; the question the government then needed to ask itself was "whether it is useful to the state that Bizcocho is properly organized as a township, so that those inhabitants can achieve the benefits of society and be brought under obedience of the law."⁷⁷ He answered his question by drawing a bold sketch of the benefits to be gained from conferring township status to the population: "the presence of just and severe judges destroys offenses; order and vigilance brings an end to insubordination; society fomented education, as isolation destroys it, and fortunes grow with calmness, order, and prosperity. All these are goods that any government must seek for the citizens who trust in its rectitude, and they cannot be achieved without forming a township . . . that will work for their attainment."⁷⁸ He went on to suggest that the men who had testified on behalf of the landowner were in fact troublemakers and wrongdoers moved by a hatred of those local authorities who in the last few years had begun to check their misconduct.⁷⁹

The Bizcocho lawyer thus chose a line of argumentation that was acutely sensitive to the perception of haciendas as places lost to law and civilization. The main thrust of his argument was that this condition of savagery was contingent on rural property relations: if indeed it existed, it was the result of the tyrannical power that hacendados had exercised during the illiberal government of the colony. Social reality had been shaped by that power. It could be undone.

76. AGEg, M, caja 15, exp. 7, fol. 79.

77. AGEg, M, caja 15, exp. 7, fol. 82v. See fol. 86r of this same document for a different formulation of the same point.

78. AGEg, M, caja 15, exp. 7, fol. 87r.

79. AGEg, M, caja 15, exp. 7, fols. 80v–81v, 88r.

Regions of Refuge

In order for their country to become a republic, Mexicans had to create institutional spaces in which constitutional law could become real: confer rights, set limits. On landed estates, this was possible only by challenging the a priori control of landowners over their property—a feat the de la Laja and Bizcocho tenants undertook by means of a rhetorical operation that shifted the leading role in the social founding narrative from property to labor. They had few followers; their struggles highlight not only the utopian possibilities of the age but also the lack of engagement with new political forms by the great majority of estate communities. How can we account for such indifference?

At a minimum, challenging hacienda power required financial resources and enough determination to risk landlord reprisals like the evictions complained of by de la Laja tenants. In the absence of a formal political tradition, these were hard to muster. The difficulties of overcoming the initial common-action dilemmas are suggested by the different outcomes of the two cases examined in this essay. If the de la Laja tenants were represented by a man with no legal expertise who committed blunder after blunder and who in all probability was not paid for his efforts, it was because they lacked a sustaining organizational culture. If the Bizcocho tenants were able to see their case to a moderately successful conclusion, it was because they had in fact been constituted as a township during the final years of the Spanish government; it was the established town authorities who initiated the tenants' defense, hired a lawyer, and collected the money to keep him paid.

But this does not suffice to explain why more estate populations did not push for the creation of constitutional townships. The threat of rental evictions, though alarming, posed no existential danger at a time when land was relatively abundant. Moreover, such evictions were a double-edged sword: rent had become the principal source of landlord income, and only a few tenants could be replaced at a time.⁸⁰ That initiating political action presented no insuperable difficulties was demonstrated by a great many communities with no formal organizational history that managed to set up local governments under the provisions of the Cádiz Constitution, sometimes against the opposition of nearby urban centers. The distinguishing characteristic of estate communities was their location on private land. Were hacienda tenants, as agricultural entrepreneurs and owners of assets in the form of seeds, tools, and animals, too

80. Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution*, 233–34.

mesmerized by the aura of property to challenge it more widely? Were they reluctant to attack a principle that represented the only foundation for authority that they had known?

They may well have been. However, the arguments developed in this article also suggest a richer explanation for the perseverance of the property principle, even among those who may seem to have had the most to gain from pushing the boundaries of Mexico's new labor paradigm. To argue for the importance of labor in the republican social structure meant to encumber the notion of citizenship with a heavy burden of responsibilities and standards of conduct. Inhabitants of ayuntamiento-ruled towns in 1820s Guanajuato faced demanding civic duties and heightened social surveillance. Implied in the notion of the laboring citizen was the notion of the taxpaying citizen, who contributed to funding the government; the breadwinning citizen, who raised and maintained a family and kept his distance from the temptations of gambling, drinking, and other forms of all-male sociability; and the arms-bearing citizen, who ensured the observance of such strictures among his fellows by taking part in the duties of community policing.⁸¹ Also implied in the notion was its antithesis: the idler, drunkard, or troublemaker, whose forced service in the army would defend a national sovereignty from whose benefits he himself was excluded. To bring the republic into a setting dominated by property and its power thus required laboring citizens to become both subjects and guardians of the modern disciplinary state. If in practice citizens might find ways of lightening, adjusting, or even mocking such a burden, there was no question that state demands on their resources and behavior would greatly exceed those they had been exposed to in landlord-controlled settings.

From their tenants' point of view, haciendas, seen as zones of lawlessness by most contemporary observers, can be redescribed as "regions of refuge."⁸² If they functioned as preserves of private power, they also served as hiding places for popular actors unwilling to participate in a political culture that

81. On the duty of citizens in ayuntamiento-ruled towns to participate in community policing bodies on a rotating basis, see AGE, M, caja 5, exp. 1, fols. 43-44; AGE, M, caja 12, exp. 13, fol. 15; AGE, M, caja 13, exp. 1, fols. 1-24; "Bando de buen gobierno publicado en el Pueblo de Sta. Cruz," 8 Jan. 1825, AGE, M, caja 13, exp. 17; "Consulta que hace el Y. Ayuntamiento de Silao sobre aprobacion de un Bando de Policia," AGE, M, caja 21, exp. 8; proclamation from alcalde of Dolores Hidalgo, 20 Oct. 1827, AGE, M, caja 38, exp. 3.

82. I am borrowing the concept—while departing from most of the text's surrounding theoretical assumptions—from Aguirre Beltrán, *Regiones de refugio*. For a recent appropriation of the concept, see Scott, *Art of Not Being Governed*.

presented them with enormous burdens. Hacienda residents weren't beyond the reach of the state, but they had increased opportunities for evading its demands. They paid less taxes and sent fewer men to the army.⁸³ They kept their distance from the republic's exigent civic culture and were able to engage in personal behavior—gambling, brawling, unrestrained marital violence—that they would have found it hard to get away with in ayuntamiento-ruled towns.⁸⁴ That in order to flee from state power peasants ended up reinforcing property-based hierarchies should not surprise us: history offers few simple choices, and the creation of modern state institutions made a retreat into real autonomy ever more unlikely.

The visionary concept of labor evoked by the de la Laja and Bizcocho tenants thus also helps us understand why more hacienda tenants did not demand municipal governments on their estates. For most tenants, it was a summons to be avoided. My conclusion contrasts with John Tutino's interpretation of the relationship of estate tenants to the country's republican-era political evolution. In an important article, Tutino argued that hacienda tenants, having carried out a social revolution that effectively broke hacendado dominance over the rural economy, "joined in the political and cultural construction of the nation"; the Mexican republic was, in part, their creation.⁸⁵ The perspective developed in my essay suggests a more complicated relationship between estate production and republican politics. Popular participation in a social revolution did not easily turn into popular participation in the politics of nation building, and the allegiance of a great majority of estate tenants, whether by volition or default, belonged to a propertied domain that relied on the law's protection while avoiding its application inside its own territory. In the larger panorama of Mexican history, this attitude makes the tenants more at home at the end of the century, under Porfirio Díaz's dictatorship, than in their own present. In the politics of republican state formation, they were a corrosive anomaly.

83. See "Espediente instruido á solicitud de los vecinos de Yrapuato, p.a estinguir los mercados q. se forman en las Haciendas y Rancherías," 1825, AGEg, M, caja 15, exp. 6, fols. 1-15.

84. In the neighboring state of San Luis Potosí, where municipal authorities of the capital and some of its outlying barrios filed reports on the nightly security rounds they led, violence against women was a common cause for temporary detentions. Report from 6 July 1829, AHSLP, Secretaría General de Gobierno, caja 240, exp. 1; reports from 18, 20, and 22 July 1829, AHSLP, Secretaría General de Gobierno, caja 240, exp. 3.

85. Tutino, "Revolution in Mexican Independence," 414.

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Tax Farming, Liquor, and the Quest for Fiscal Modernity in Venezuela, 1908–1935

Doug Yarrington

In early 1913, Román Cárdenas, having recently returned from studying financial management in London, became Treasury minister in the government of Juan Vicente Gómez (1908–1935). Over the next decade, Cárdenas worked tirelessly to create his ideal modern fiscal system, one that would both produce enough revenue to finance Gómez's plans to build a powerful national state and foment economic growth.¹ Cárdenas trumpeted his reforms as an effort to replace backward, inefficient, and corrupt administrative practices with more scientific and productive methods conforming to Western norms. His vision may be critiqued as naive, rooted as it was in a stark dichotomy between backwardness and modernity; nevertheless, it energized him as he labored to create a bureaucratic system that approximated his ideal. Among his new policies, Cárdenas sought to end tax farming, which he loathed as the epitome of outdated fiscal administration. The government's tradition of contracting tax farmers to collect a specific tax and allowing them to retain the revenues, as long as they paid a fee to the Treasury, appeared to Cárdenas to blur the proper boundary between public and private interests. He strove to replace tax farmers with bureaucratic tax collectors employed by the national state and to thus maximize state revenues. By the time he retired in 1922, on the eve of Venezuela's oil boom, Cárdenas had successfully imposed new forms of management, increased domestic tax receipts, and averted a fiscal crisis during World War I. Of the federal taxes under the contract system when Cárdenas assumed office, only one, that on liquor, was still in the hands of tax farmers in a few states when he retired.

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1. Quintero, "De la alucinación."

The fiscal transition pursued by Cárdenas, from tax farming to direct bureaucratic administration, has long been interpreted as a critical chapter in the waning of patrimonialism and the emergence of modern, centralized states. Charles Tilly viewed revenue farming as one of the practices that characterized the brokered states of early modern Europe, in which national rulers contracted fiscal and military operations to more or less autonomous allies; only after 1700, as the financial demands of war impelled fiscal and military reforms, did most European states “absorb” and nationalize these functions by administering them directly.² Moreover, historians often regard salaried tax collectors—such as the officials employed in England’s Department of Excise—as “the prototype of a modern bureaucracy”³ because they were recruited and promoted in a merit-based system, paid regular salaries, and expected to apply tax laws in a consistent, standardized fashion throughout the national territory.⁴ Their taxation and surveillance of the liquor trade played a significant role in the rise of England’s “fiscal-military state,”⁵ foreshadowing similar transformations elsewhere. Although scholars have noted that fiscal bureaucracies never conformed entirely to Weberian ideals (for example, they remained intertwined with patronage networks), analyses of the fiscal transition have often remained within the broad contours of modernization paradigms. As Richard Lachmann suggests, the fiscal-military paradigm implies a dichotomy between the patrimonial practices prevailing before state consolidation and the modern innovations that followed it.⁶

By contrast, other scholars, often focusing on non-Western societies, reject any automatic correlation between tax farming and political backwardness or between bureaucratic tax administration and modernity. Ariel Salzmann, commenting on the Ottoman Empire, cautions against viewing tax-farming systems “as detours from the ‘true’ path toward modern statehood,” and Karen Barkey likewise argues that reforms of the Ottoman tax-farming system promoted state formation by reconciling the interests of central, provincial, and military elites.⁷ Ian Copland and Michael R. Godley, taking a global perspective, conclude that the emergence, modification, and decline of tax farming cannot be tied to “any particular stage of economic or political development.”⁸

2. Tilly, *Coercion, Capital*, 29, 53.

3. Ferguson, *Cash Nexus*, 89.

4. Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity*, 158–200.

5. Brewer, *Sinews of Power*.

6. Lachmann, “American Patrimonialism,” 206.

7. Salzmann, “Ancien Régime,” 393; Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 232–36.

8. Copland and Godley, “Revenue Farming,” 67.

Scholars in this second tradition, while agreeing with modernization theorists that tax regimes offer insight into state formation, insist that historical context and contingency trump any universal theory, even in the case of England.⁹ Revenue farming may be a quintessentially patrimonial practice in that it allows public authority to be used for private profit, but modernizing states may (re)create, reform, or abolish tax-farming systems in response to changing circumstances.

Venezuela's fiscal transition under Gómez conformed most closely to this second, more contingent treatment of the relationship between state formation and revenue systems. As this essay argues, both tax farming and direct administration of the liquor tax contributed to the rise of Venezuela's first centralized state. Gómez's distribution of lucrative tax-farming contracts to his most powerful collaborators advanced the regime's internal cohesion. Meanwhile, the gradual introduction of direct bureaucratic administration of the liquor tax boosted federal revenues, but this introduction was temporarily reversed during the oil boom of the 1920s, and direct administration was not implemented nationwide until the economic crisis of the early 1930s. Gómez's oscillation back and forth between the two fiscal systems offers a useful window into the different interests within his regime as he balanced the ideological and financial benefits of fiscal reform against the patronage demands of his allies. The result was a decidedly nonlinear transition that responded more to Gómez's desire to consolidate his power than to the claims of any single faction within his regime or to any inherent logic of modernization.

This analysis of the liquor tax, then, can deepen our understanding of the contested history of modernity in Latin America by directing our attention to those moments when postcolonial elites experimented with "imported" forms of bureaucratic governance. As Bertrand Badie has suggested, such processes often resulted in the emergence of hybrid state practices, which he and other scholars refer to as "neopatrimonial" to denote how they intertwine patrimonial and legal-rational forms of domination.¹⁰ But such arguments, like the literature engaged with the concept of modernity, are often plagued by vague and sweeping assertions, leading scholars to call for these theories to be applied to cases in which the interplay of specific patrimonial and modern forms of rule can be analyzed.¹¹ This essay responds to such critiques by focusing on the

9. Kiser and Kane, "Revolution and State Structure."

10. Badie, *Imported State*, 14–19, 140–46; von Soest, Bechle, and Korte, "How Neopatrimonialism," 1308.

11. Thomas, "Modernity's Failings," 727; Bach, "Patrimonialism and Neopatrimonialism," 28; Miller and Hart, *When Was Latin America Modern?*

politics of Venezuela's liquor tax, itself a neglected topic,¹² as part of the formation of a neopatrimonial state.

The Gómez Regime, Liquor Tax Farming, and Patronage, to ca. 1914

Gómez, a cattle trader from the western state of Táchira who followed his compadre Cipriano Castro into politics and then seized power from him in 1908, has been the subject of long-running disputes regarding the Venezuelan state. As Fernando Coronil has noted, the dominant view of the Gómez regime in Venezuelan historiography emphasizes the corruption, nepotism, and cruelty of the dictator and his closest allies, supporting the assertion made by Gómez's opponents that Venezuela only began to modernize following his death in 1935.¹³ By contrast, Coronil and other scholars argue that Gómez, notwithstanding his regime's brutality, initiated state modernization by professionalizing segments of the military and the fiscal bureaucracy, establishing the petroleum economy, and constructing the first national highway system. My treatment of the Gómez regime as neopatrimonial is broadly consistent with this latter approach while offering a new historical analysis of the collision and eventual intertwining of personalistic and bureaucratic forms of power in one branch of the Venezuelan state.

As he consolidated his regime, Gómez had to satisfy his top collaborators' demands for patronage and profit while also selectively modernizing the state. Balancing these competing demands led to the evolution of a neopatrimonial system of rule. Gómez depended on the loyalty of his regional officials, especially state presidents (usually generals with experience in past civil wars), to defend the regime against regional threats. These strongmen saw politics as a means of private enrichment, and Gómez ensured their loyalty by allowing them to pursue a variety of profitable enterprises and rackets, some legal and others not, often in partnership with other officials, including Gómez himself. The dictator and his allies cooperated in monopolizing the nation's cattle markets, privatizing public lands for their own benefit, selling oil concessions to foreign companies, and controlling a large share of the liquor trade.¹⁴ Gómez's

12. The most substantial discussion is Rodríguez, *La historia de la caña*, 112–21. Others mention Venezuela's liquor tax without discussing it at length. Kornblith and Quintana, "Gestión fiscal," 151–52, 166–67, 223–24; Quintero, "De la alucinación," 603.

13. Coronil, *Magical State*, 68–69. See also Ellner, "Venezuelan Revisionist Political History," 100–103.

14. Pino Iturrrieta, "Estudio preliminar," 1:21–22; McBeth, *Juan Vicente Gómez*, 70–108; Yarrington, "Cattle, Corruption."

distribution of these opportunities for enrichment cemented his control over his followers, and cooperation among rent-seeking officials at different levels of administration contributed to the regime's cohesion.

Meanwhile, the military and fiscal demands of state building required a limited modernization of the state apparatus. Gómez initiated a reform of the military (1910–1914) that included professional training of young officers and new recruits as well as purchases of up-to-date equipment, creating the most formidable army Venezuelans had ever seen. But Gómez ensured the army's personal loyalty by placing his cronies and kin in top command positions, despite their lack of professional qualifications.¹⁵ To meet the fiscal demands of state building, Gómez supported the Treasury reforms advocated by Cárdenas and thus put the state on a sound financial footing before the oil boom, as Yolanda Segnini has emphasized.¹⁶ The transition from a patronage-based system of tax farming to one of direct administration designed to maximize revenue—a transition that appeared to present Gómez with a stark choice between patrimonial and bureaucratic strategies—illustrates the tensions in this emerging neopatrimonial state.

The widespread production and sale of alcoholic beverages had long made this sector of Venezuela's economy a promising source of tax revenue, but it also presented challenges.¹⁷ Unlike customs revenues, which could be collected by a handful of officials in a few major ports, the collection of liquor taxes required a nationwide administration. Aguardiente, distilled from sugarcane juice or molasses, was the most widely produced and consumed alcoholic drink in Venezuela.¹⁸ Distilleries varied in scale, including a few large commercial operations, moderately sized establishments on haciendas, and ubiquitous small household stills. During the early years of the Castro regime (which began in 1899), municipal and state governments administered the liquor tax, but in 1904 Castro declared it a federal revenue.¹⁹ The lack of a centralized bureaucracy to administer the tax, however, obliged the Treasury to lease the collection rights to entrepreneurs, which had poor results.²⁰ When no one bid on the liquor

15. Ziemis, *El gomecismo*.

16. Segnini, *La consolidación del régimen*, 51–73.

17. Rodríguez, *La historia de la caña*, 112–18.

18. Rodríguez, *Los paisajes geohistóricos*.

19. Rodríguez, *La historia de la caña*, 118; Federico Bauder, "Tabaco y aguardiente: Consideraciones acerca del decreto ejecutivo de 27 de junio sobre renta de tabaco y aguardiente" (1904), in Carillo Batalla, *Historia de las finanzas*, 1:222–25.

20. "Contrato del Ministerio de Hacienda con el ciudadano . . ." (1905), in Carillo Batalla, *Historia de las finanzas*, 2:418–19.

revenue contract for 1907, the government briefly attempted to administer the tax directly, without much success.²¹

The problem that bedeviled Castro—creating a fiscal regime that would maximize revenue, reduce dependence on customs receipts, and strengthen the central state—runs through Latin American history during the long nineteenth century from roughly 1750 to 1930.²² Bourbon-era reformers seeking to increase royal income and encourage economic growth replaced some of the tax-farming systems of the Hapsburg dynasty with direct administration by salaried bureaucrats. After independence, however, the new Latin American states lacked the bureaucratic capacity to collect many taxes directly and often farmed them out once again. Over the following century or so, commodities such as alcohol, tobacco, and salt were subject to a shifting array of revenue regimes. The regional and central governments controlling these revenues experimented with direct administration, tax farming, and monopoly contracts granted to private individuals or corporations. Over time, the general trend was toward bureaucratic administration and federal control, but this tendency, as in Venezuela, was never monolithic and often reflected political as well as fiscal calculations. This checkered history of taxation perhaps explains why historians of Latin America have barely commented on the transitions from revenue farming to direct administration, despite the insights into the political economy of state formation that such analyses might yield.²³

By the early years of the Gómez regime, the federal government, having concluded that both direct administration and a single, nationwide tax farm were impractical, contracted the liquor revenue to powerful individuals allied with Gómez in each state and federal territory. Payments by the liquor tax farmers to the federal government in 1909 totaled 2,524,531.43 bolívares, well below the figure of 4 million bolívares sought by Castro for the national liquor tax farm a few years earlier. Taxes collected by customs officials on

21. "Resolución sobre remate de renta de licores" (1906), in Carillo Batalla, *Historia de las finanzas*, 2:432.

22. Useful works on the history of internal taxes in Latin America include Rodríguez, *Search for Public Policy*; Rosenthal, *Salt and the Colombian State*; Deas, "Fiscal Problems," esp. 294–97, 307–9; Carey, *Distilling the Influence*; Walker, "Business As Usual." Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina established national income taxes in the 1920s and 1930s; Venezuela did so only in the early 1940s. Sánchez Román, "Economic Elites."

23. Partial exceptions include Rodríguez, *Search for Public Policy*, 68–72, 105–6, 245n23; Kurtz, *Latin American State Building*, 71, 80, 75n8. For an engaging application of the fiscal-military model of state formation to Latin America, which nonetheless overlooks the fiscal transition, see Centeno, *Blood and Debt*.

imported beverages brought total liquor revenues to the disappointing figure of 2,764,286.40 bolívars for the year.²⁴

While receipts to the Treasury remained low, the potential profits for those who received the tax-farming contracts were substantial. These profits derived from two sources. First, tax farmers retained as profit any revenues they collected above the amount they paid the Treasury for their contracts. Most of these revenues came from taxes on producers and wholesalers of aguardiente. Second, tax farmers could use their positions to establish *de facto* monopolies on the production and sale of aguardiente in their jurisdictions, often in partnership with local merchants and political allies. Although their contracts with the Treasury called on tax farmers to respect freedom of commerce, they routinely violated these provisions.²⁵ Tax farmers established partnerships with selected distillers and merchants, denied licenses to rival distillers, invented taxes and fines designed to prevent the importation of liquor from neighboring jurisdictions, and then raised prices.²⁶ Such abuses imposed burdens on consumers and producers while undermining the development of a national liquor market. The use of violence against those who resisted suggests that many Venezuelans experienced these local and regional monopolies as an integral aspect of state formation under Gómez.²⁷ Tax farmers continued such abusive methods until the system was abolished in the early 1930s, as I will discuss in the second half of this essay.

Enticed by these potential profits, Gómez's most influential allies petitioned the dictator to award them the liquor tax contracts.²⁸ And Gómez

24. Venezuela. Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público, *Exposición que dirige*, 223–24.

25. For the standard contract, see *Memoria de hacienda correspondiente al año comprendido del 19 de marzo de 1913 al 19 de marzo de 1914* (Caracas: Tipografía Empresa El Cojo, 1914), 427–28. (These annual reports are cited corporately in the reference list; in the notes they are hereafter cited as *Memoria de hacienda* followed by year of publication.)

26. "Impuestos ilegales establecidos por los contratistas," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1916, lxi; "Una Aventura de Prieto," Lagunillas, Dec. 1909, Archivo y Biblioteca de Dr. Tulio Febres Cordero, Mérida, Hojas Sueltas section; "Eminencias que se Derrumban," Lagunillas, Jan. 1910, Archivo y Biblioteca de Dr. Tulio Febres Cordero, Hojas Sueltas section; Viso C., *La epopeya del ron*, 134.

27. Francisco María Vásquez to V. Márquez Bustillos, Bujay, 26 Dec. 1915, *Boletín del Archivo Histórico de Miraflores* (hereafter cited as *BAHM*) 20, nos. 101–106 (1978): 197; *Memoria de hacienda* 1916, pp. 304–5, 308; Parada, *De Ocumare*, 149.

28. Segnini, *La consolidación del régimen*, 55. There was no public bidding for the state-level contracts; Gómez received bids in private communications. Rarely, some recipients of the statewide contracts publicly solicited bids from those wishing to sublease tax-farming rights at the district level. "Aviso," *Patria y Unión* (Barinas), 11 Dec. 1916.

obliged them; from his early years in power, he used the liquor concessions to build strategic patronage networks. As did eighteenth-century Ottoman rulers,²⁹ Gómez gave tax-farming contracts to men with proven military clout rather than favoring merchants and financiers, as was usual in France, Russia, and England. Gómez's use of liquor contracts to reinforce alliances with those who bolstered the regime's security meant that the concessions were not always awarded to the individual who offered the highest payments. For example, in 1910 General José Garbí, the *jefe civil* (district governor) of Barquisimeto who had helped Castro and Gómez defeat the Revolución Libertadora of 1901–1903, requested that Gómez allow him to continue leasing the liquor tax in the neighboring state of Yaracuy. Gómez responded that even though another official had offered to rent the concession for 2,000 bolívars more than Garbí paid, he would renew Garbí's contract "in consideration of our good friendship and because you have fulfilled your obligations."³⁰ Recipients of statewide concessions often subcontracted the tax to their allies at the district level, thus expanding the number of clients whose loyalty could be cultivated. General Amador Uzcátegui, president of the state of Mérida, had this in mind when he requested the liquor tax contract for his state "so that I can distribute it here among various friends of ours who are very useful men and who it would be good to help because they are in need."³¹ Similarly, General José María García, as president of Trujillo in 1913, asked Gómez for his state's liquor contract so that he could "fittingly remunerate persons of certain social and political significance whom I have employed in their respective localities."³² The allocation of tax-farming rights went hand in hand with the dictator's development of a clientelist infrastructure.

This distribution of patronage served Gómez's interests as he was initially consolidating his power. However, once he survived a crisis in 1913–1914 triggered by the end of his presidential term, he could afford to reconsider which system was most advantageous for administering the taxes being farmed out, including the liquor tax. Moving to a system of direct administration had the potential to increase federal revenues available for modernizing the military, building roads, and paying off Venezuela's foreign debt. Even though liquor tax

29. Salzmann, "Ancien Régime," 401–3.

30. Juan Vicente Gómez to José Garbí, Caracas, 8 Nov. 1910, *BAHM* 12, no. 67 (1970): 27; Yarrington, *Coffee Frontier*, 92–93, 97, 99, 101, 145.

31. Amador Uzcátegui to Juan Vicente Gómez, Mérida, 12 June 1914, *BAHM* 5, nos. 28–29 (1964): 141–42.

32. José María García to Juan Vicente Gómez, Trujillo, 21 May 1913, in Segnini et al., *Los hombres del Benemérito*, 1:357.

Table 1. Monthly payments by liquor tax farmers to Treasury, 1914 and 1929 (in bolívares)

<i>Jurisdiction</i>	<i>1914</i>	<i>1929</i>
Anzoátegui	6,050	11,000
Apure	4,800	1,750
Aragua	18,000	20,000
Bolívar	13,000	9,500
Carabobo	31,000	30,000
Cojedes	5,000	7,500
Falcón	7,000	22,500
Guárico	7,500	6,000
Lara	23,000	58,000
Mérida	8,000	16,000
Miranda	24,000	50,000
Monagas	3,500	9,500
Nueva Esparta	6,000	5,000
Portuguesa	3,000	5,000
Sucre	27,000	40,500
Táchira	16,000	18,000
Trujillo	9,000	43,000
Yaracuy	12,000	29,000
Zamora	2,000	1,000
Zulia	19,000	80,000
Federal District (Caracas)	39,000	140,000
Delta Amacuro Territory	1,000	2,500
Totals	284,850	605,750

Source: Memoria de hacienda correspondiente al año comprendido del 19 de marzo de 1913 al 19 de marzo de 1914 (Caracas: Tipografía Empresa El Cojo, 1914), cxix; *Memoria de hacienda presentada al congreso nacional en sus sesiones de 1930* (Caracas: Tipografía Americana, 1930), 362.

farmers paid 284,850 bolívares a month to the federal government in 1914 (see table 1), that year's report by the finance ministry concluded that the liquor tax "produces only a very small part of what it should for the Treasury."³³ The report argued that legislation governing the tax "has not permitted the Government to reorganize the revenue through direct administration" and forced a reliance on "rental contracts" instead.³⁴ The solution was to reform liquor tax legislation with the goal of maximizing revenues. Román Cárdenas, the

33. *Memoria de hacienda* 1914, xxi.

34. *Ibid.*, cxviii.

Treasury minister who oversaw the drafting of this report, would lead Gómez's effort to end tax farming, increase revenues, and create a modern fiscal system.

Cárdenas and the Quest for Fiscal Modernity, 1913–1922

Often viewed as the founder of the modern Venezuelan treasury, Cárdenas was born in Gómez's home state of Táchira. Educated as an engineer, he was appointed minister of public works in 1910. He initiated the regime's program of highway construction, one of Gómez's top priorities; however, the chaotic state of public finances hindered these efforts.³⁵ Gómez had supported Treasury Minister Abel Santos's ambitious plans to reform the fiscal system, but Santos had proven unable to carry them out during his brief tenure in 1909–1910.³⁶ Impressed with Cárdenas's ability, Gómez asked him in 1912 to become Treasury minister. He accepted with the condition that he first be allowed to go to London to study public finance, to which Gómez agreed. Assuming his new duties in early 1913, Cárdenas vigorously pursued the modernization of state finances until his retirement in 1922.³⁷ Throughout this period he enjoyed Gómez's personal confidence, which allowed him to advance his reforms despite opposition from various officials, including the dictator's relatives. Historians have noted the tensions between the regime's patrimonial practices and Cárdenas's innovations, but they have not explored their ramifications.³⁸

In April 1914, Cárdenas presented to the Venezuelan legislature his plan for a sweeping reform of the fiscal system.³⁹ It called for an end to tax farming, an expansion and restructuring of the Treasury bureaucracy, and increased collection of domestic revenues to end the long-standing reliance on volatile customs receipts. In presenting the rationale for change, Cárdenas denounced current fiscal administration as backward, chaotic, riddled with corrupt practices (*corruptelas*), and harmful to Venezuela's economy. This stinging critique was perhaps the strongest public criticism of existing administrative methods ever offered by a *gomecista* official. Clearly the dictator had concluded that the benefits of reform outweighed the political costs of curtailing the patronage associated with revenue farming, which was used to administer taxes on cigarettes, stamps, and salt, as well as liquor.

35. Márquez, *Presencia del Táchira*, 8.

36. Siso, *Castro y Gómez*, 120–21.

37. Quintero, "De la alucinación."

38. Ramón Velásquez, "La hacienda pública en 1921," *BAHM* 10, no. 59 (1969): 67.

39. Román Cárdenas, "Introducción," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1914, a–j (pages in this introduction are lettered rather than numbered).

Cárdenas, at times echoing Adam Smith's critique of tax farming,⁴⁰ denounced the damage the practice inflicted on economic development as well as on the state's financial and bureaucratic capacity. He lambasted revenue farming as an "atrocious system that tends to gradually become a regime that restricts the industry [that is taxed], with all the ruinous consequences of delegating the constrictive action of the Government to agents outside the Administration."⁴¹ According to Cárdenas, tax farming created "circumstances opposed to all progress in the evolution of the fiscal organism" and undermined entrepreneurial initiative. Thus "the pecuniary success obtained by the contractors" came at the expense of the state and the national economy; the system was inherently "pernicious."⁴²

Cárdenas's attack on tax farming concluded with a sharp contrast between fiscal modernity and backwardness: "None of the national administrations of the modern civilized countries currently use a system of contracts for the leasing of revenues; this system finds itself relegated to countries where, because of the backwardness [*atraso*] of administrative evolution, there exist neither the means nor the effective legal instruments to collect public contributions through direct administration, the only acknowledged good system for this purpose."⁴³ Overall, Cárdenas's manifesto assumed a dichotomy between backward fiscal regimes, characterized by inefficiency, corruption, low revenues, and constraints on economic growth, and more modern fiscal regimes, defined by efficiency, qualified personnel, increasing government revenues, and the promotion of economic growth. In this discourse, tax farming was a telltale sign of a backward fiscal system, while direct government administration indicated fiscal modernity. To be sure, Cárdenas included the caveat that Venezuela's adoption of "the great modern principles of financial legislation should be adapted to our circumstances and special conditions,"⁴⁴ but his dichotomy between backwardness and modernity remained.

Significantly, Cárdenas's advocacy of direct federal administration supported Gómez's drive to extend the reach of the central government into every region of Venezuela. Cárdenas's project echoed the thought of Charles Davenant (1656–1714), the English excise administrator who, according to historical geographer Miles Ogborn, advocated "a rationally ordered, planned

40. Smith, *Inquiry into the Nature*, 2:900–905.

41. Cárdenas, "Introducción," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1914, f.

42. *Ibid.*, f–g.

43. *Ibid.*, g.

44. *Ibid.*, d.

and territorially complete bureaucracy. . . . an administrative framework that could operate effectively across the state's territory."⁴⁵ Because Venezuelan tax farmers and their allies monopolized regional markets and obstructed interstate commerce, they reinforced the administrative and economic fragmentation of the nation. National integration required the spatial expansion of the central government's power at the expense of tax farmers. As Cárdenas argued, distillers could only become national entrepreneurs producing for a unified Venezuelan market when the federal government established a uniform system of taxation throughout the nation.⁴⁶ Thus fiscal modernity, in his view, would advance economic and political integration as well as boost revenues.

Cárdenas's proposals to reform domestic tax collection gained greater urgency when Venezuela's foreign trade plummeted following the outbreak of World War I in August 1914. Customs receipts dropped from 44,349,469.09 bolívars during the fiscal year 1913–1914 to 30,613,458.14 bolívars in 1914–1915,⁴⁷ forcing a 50 percent reduction in the salaries of all federal employees.⁴⁸ Dependence on foreign trade, which typically generated between 70 and 76 percent of all federal revenues,⁴⁹ was pushing the regime toward crisis. Increasing revenues from domestic sources became imperative, and Cárdenas's plan to replace tax farming with direct administration offered a solution. On January 1, 1915, the government established federal management of the liquor tax in the state of Zulia and in the Federal District of Caracas.⁵⁰

Later that same year, Congress approved a new liquor tax law providing for direct administration of the liquor revenue throughout the nation.⁵¹ The legislation called for the establishment of regional offices, each headed by an administrator, to assess and collect the tax, which was primarily a levy on production. Distillers and wholesalers would be required to buy licenses, but the former would also pay a tax of 0.45 bolívars on each liter of liquor distilled,

45. Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity*, 199.

46. Cárdenas, "Introducción," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1914, f–g.

47. Segnini, *La consolidación del régimen*, 58.

48. Preston McGoodwin to Department of State, Caracas, 31 Aug. 1914, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Records of Department of State (hereafter cited as NARA, RDS), 831.00/690; Preston McGoodwin to Department of State, Caracas, 19 Oct. 1914, NARA, RDS, 831.00/696. See also H. D. Beaumont to Foreign Office, Caracas, 27 June 1917, Public Record Office, Kew, Foreign Office (hereafter cited as PRO, FO), 371/3074.

49. McBeth, *Juan Vicente Gómez*, 111.

50. "Licores," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1915, cxxv.

51. *Ley orgánica*.

provided that the alcoholic content was 50 percent or less; stronger liquors would be taxed at higher rates. The base rate of 0.45 bolívars per liter represented an increase over earlier rates, but the law compensated Venezuelan distillers by more than doubling taxes on imported liquors.⁵² The legislation prohibited administrators and their staffs from having any financial interest in the liquor business, called for regular audits of their accounts, and established penalties for unlicensed production and smuggling.

The government, however, proved unable to implement immediately the system of national bureaucratic administration described in the 1915 law. Recruiting, training, and deploying sufficient numbers of the new officials took time, necessitating a gradual shift toward direct administration.⁵³ By the end of 1915, the government had established direct administration only in the states of Zulia, Sucre, Lara, and Miranda and in the Federal District of Caracas.⁵⁴ All other jurisdictions continued temporarily under the tax-farming system; these exemptions were authorized under Article 127 of the law. Thus began an era of what might be termed divided administration, with the liquor tax administered by federal officials in some states and by tax farmers in others. Throughout the remainder of Cárdenas's tenure in the Treasury Ministry, more states were shifted from tax farming to direct administration. By his retirement in 1922, liquor tax farms remained in place in only four states (Táchira, Mérida, Aragua, and Carabobo).⁵⁵

Cárdenas vigorously supervised the administrators and their staffs in the areas under federal management, insisting that they apply the law in a standardized, uniform manner. He regularly wrote to liquor tax officials to remind them to follow established procedures,⁵⁶ use the correct forms for submitting their reports,⁵⁷ and ensure that distilleries' equipment was clean before use,⁵⁸

52. Ibid., art. 1; "Decreto sobre funcionamiento e impuesto a pagar por la industria de licores, 1906," in Carrillo Batalla, *Historia de las finanzas*, 2:425-29; Rodríguez, *La historia de la caña*, 115.

53. "Introducción," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1916, d-e; "Servicio de licores. Renta de licores," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1920, cxxvii.

54. "Instrucciones para las administraciones de la renta de licores," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1916, pp. 307-9.

55. Political considerations prevented direct administration in these four states, as explained below.

56. Román Cárdenas to Administrador de la Renta de Licores, circular no. 947, 2 Aug. 1915, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1916, pp. 311-12.

57. Román Cárdenas to Administrador de la Renta de Licores, circular no. 110, 17 Jan. 1916, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1917, p. 271.

58. Román Cárdenas to Administradores de la Renta de Licores, circular no. 98, 4 Feb. 1919, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1920, pp. 410-11.

among similar exhortations. No issue appeared too minute to escape Cárdenas's attention as he advanced the professionalization of liquor tax administration, striving to make bureaucratic practice conform to the ideals expressed in national legislation.

The shift toward direct administration yielded impressive results, as liquor revenues rose and vindicated Cárdenas's reforms (see table 2). The Treasury's liquor tax receipts doubled in the first few years of direct administration and continued to rise through the end of the decade. Significantly, these increases formed part of a broader trend. Between July 1914 and January 1916, the Treasury shifted several of the most important branches of internal revenue, including the sale of stamps and the taxes on salt and cigarettes, from private administration to direct federal management. Net revenues from all these sources rose substantially following the shift to direct administration, largely offsetting the decline in customs receipts caused by the war. Internal revenue (including liquor tax receipts) totaled 14,640,617.29 bolívares, or 22.4 percent of all federal revenue, in 1912-1913; by 1918-1919, internal revenue totaled 33,340,089.74 bolívares, or 58.4 percent of federal revenue.⁵⁹

Cárdenas hailed the success of his reforms in averting a government crisis during the war. Reporting to Congress in 1917, he reviewed his efforts to implement "the modern science of finances" since taking office in 1913.⁶⁰ "The first step," he argued, "had to be the replacement of tax farming [*arrendamiento*], which undermined revenue, with the direct administration of national taxes, which had been placed in oblivion and was almost unknown by previous regimes."⁶¹ Rehearsing the evils of revenue farming yet again, Cárdenas argued that it left taxpayers vulnerable to excessive charges, undermined public respect for legitimate taxation, discouraged investment by small entrepreneurs who lacked political protection, and, worst of all, favored the creation of monopolies. By contrast, he claimed, "any possibility of monopoly disappeared under direct administration."⁶² Cárdenas calculated that the shift toward direct administration of taxes on cigarettes, salt, stamps, and liquor had resulted in a combined net gain to the Treasury of over 5.7 million bolívares per year, after deducting new administrative costs. According to the minister, "direct

59. Statistics are from Segnini, *La consolidación del régimen*, 58; percentages are my calculations.

60. Román Cárdenas, "Introducción," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1917, b.

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.*, g.

Table 2. Federal revenue from liquor, imports, and mining, 1910–1936
(in thousands of bolívars)

<i>Fiscal year</i>	<i>Liquor revenue</i>	<i>Total federal revenue</i>	<i>Liquor revenue as % of total</i>	<i>Taxes on imports</i>	<i>Mining, including oil</i>
1910–11	3,169	62,939	5.04%	28,426	270
1911–12	3,355	76,171	4.40%	33,046	466
1912–13	3,652	65,438	5.58%	29,705	576
1913–14	3,694	60,371	6.12%	25,029	579
1914–15	3,679	50,598	7.27%	17,466	265
1915–16	6,566	65,674	10.00%	23,309	543
1916–17	7,105	72,127	9.85%	25,646	1,266
1917–18	7,438	53,254	13.97%	13,413	838
1918–19	7,752	57,102	13.58%	12,657	2,054
1919–20	9,617	101,134	9.51%	30,244	2,811
1920–21	8,513	81,561	10.44%	24,042	2,825
1921–22	8,000	70,927	11.28%	14,733	2,766
1922–23	9,018	87,691	10.28%	23,259	8,253
1923–24	9,095	102,249	8.89%	27,523	5,158
1924–25	9,242	120,165	7.69%	36,252	8,731
1925–26	10,868	172,098	6.32%	47,641	25,416
1926–27	10,349	182,148	5.68%	54,997	20,428
1927–28	10,851	186,752	5.81%	49,023	35,110
1928–29	9,642	230,415	4.18%	56,949	46,527
1929–30	9,405	255,445	3.68%	61,633	54,325
1930–31	9,174	210,259	4.36%	75,535	48,638
1931–32	11,582	185,096	6.26%	61,806	51,011
1932–33	13,712	171,889	7.98%	53,672	44,933
1933–34	12,248	171,829	7.13%	53,396	47,519
1934–35	11,099	202,980	5.47%	59,810	55,404
1935–36	11,376	189,125	6.02%	58,679	57,222

Source: J. J. Bracho Sierra, "Cincuenta años de ingresos fiscales (1910–1960)," *Revista de Hacienda* 48 (1964): 38, 44, 48. Percentage calculations are mine.

administration of taxes that for many years were rented out has permitted the Government . . . to establish a public treasury capable of withstanding the universal crisis" of the war.⁶³ The regime's newspaper, *El Nuevo Diario*, praised the Treasury's "modernización fiscal"⁶⁴ and informed readers that "the money

63. *Ibid.*, c.

64. "Ley orgánica de la hacienda nacional," *El Nuevo Diario* (Caracas), 16 June 1918, reprinted in *La rehabilitación de Venezuela*, 1:167.

that previously enriched the tax farmers [*arrendatarios*]" was now invested in highway construction and the military.⁶⁵

Moreover, Cárdenas's reforms burnished the regime's image abroad. British and US diplomats commented favorably on Gómez's fiscal policies, including the curtailment of tax farming, perhaps assuaging their governments' unease over the dictator's brutality and pro-German leanings. H. D. Beaumont, the British minister in Caracas, cited the reform of the liquor tax as an example of the regime's sound financial management.⁶⁶ Homer Brett, the US consul at La Guaira, emphasized the increasing contribution of internal revenues to government income during the last six months of 1917, adding that "the objectionable conditions of private monopoly which prevailed when these revenues were farmed out have disappeared."⁶⁷ Gómez also impressed foreign observers by continuing to pay overseas creditors despite declining exports, steadily reducing Venezuela's foreign debt. This did not prevent Woodrow Wilson from asking his secretary of state, Robert Lansing, whether there was a convenient way to overthrow the dictator,⁶⁸ but Gómez's fiscal management may have contributed to Lansing's reticence to intervene.

Unión Destiladora and the Trials of Direct Administration

In early 1919, Cárdenas learned of a major failure in the federal administration of the liquor tax in the western state of Zulia, a failure that threatened to upend his neat contrast between the backward, corrupt practice of tax farming and the modern system of bureaucratic administration. A few aguardiente distillers there had combined to form Unión Destiladora, which monopolized production and sales in the state. Perhaps most alarming for Cárdenas, Unión Destiladora's monopoly was established in 1915, while the federal treasury directly administered the liquor tax in Zulia, and various government officials, including state president José María García (1914–1918) and the federal administrator of the liquor tax in Zulia, José Antonio Calcaño, had colluded with the monopoly.⁶⁹ The complicity of the administrator in creating this cartel threatened

65. "La situación fiscal y económica de Venezuela," *El Nuevo Diario* (Caracas), 5 Oct. 1917, reprinted in *La rehabilitación de Venezuela*, 1:114–15.

66. Beaumont to Foreign Office, Caracas, 27 June 1917, PRO, FO, 371/3074.

67. Homer Brett to Department of State, La Guaira, 7 Dec. 1918, NARA, RDS, 831.51/58, microfilm.

68. Ewell, *Venezuela and the United States*, 117–20.

69. Román Cárdenas to Santos M. Gómez, Caracas, 6 Mar. 1919, *BAHM* 13, no. 72 (1972): 200–201.

Cárdenas's premise that direct administration of taxes would end regional monopolies, maximize revenues, and advance economic development.

Unión Destiladora used its clout to drive competitors out of business and to raise prices. Under premonopoly conditions, with numerous distilleries supplying the market, aguardiente had sold for 1.00 bolívar per liter in Zulia, but after cornering the market Unión Destiladora charged 2.25 bolívares.⁷⁰ As prices rose, more consumers clandestinely purchased or produced bootleg liquor, thus reducing the market for taxed liquor and driving down revenues.⁷¹ Indeed, it was this drop in regional tax receipts that led Treasury officials to investigate the liquor trade there. Once informed of Unión Destiladora's monopoly, Cárdenas resolved to take decisive action, even though it would disrupt an enterprise in which García, a cousin of Gómez and one of his closest allies, was involved. Cárdenas's earlier claim that "any possibility of monopoly disappeared under direct administration" no doubt came back to haunt him. Evidently not all Treasury bureaucrats were above the same abuse of public power for private gain that he believed to be inherent in tax farming.

Cárdenas raised the issue of Unión Destiladora with Gómez in February 1919 and won his approval for dismantling the monopoly. Cárdenas also urged Gómez to instruct the current president of Zulia and the dictator's half brother, General Santos Matute Gómez, to "completely remove himself from all interest or participation, in any form whatsoever, in the aguardiente business," implying that he, too, might have acquired a stake in the monopoly.⁷² Cárdenas argued that government officials needed to divest from the liquor industry in order to restore public confidence in the regime's commitment to free trade. Only then would investors who had withdrawn from the aguardiente business reinvest. He dispatched Treasury officials to Zulia to dismantle Unión Destiladora⁷³ and then issued decrees closing the distilleries that made up the cartel; while explicitly citing their efforts to restrict free trade, he refrained from any mention of official complicity in the monopoly.⁷⁴ Unión Destiladora was

70. Emil Sauer, "Data for the World's Anti-Alcoholic Congress," 7 May 1919, NARA, RDS, Maracaibo Consular Post Records, 1919, vol. 114, section 811.4.

71. "Decreto de 30 de junio de 1919," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1920, cxxix–cxx. See also Sauer, "Data for the World's Anti-Alcoholic Congress," 7 May 1919, NARA, RDS, Maracaibo Consular Post Records, 1919, vol. 114, section 811.4.

72. Román Cárdenas to Juan Vicente Gómez, Caracas, 2 Mar. 1919, in Segnini et al., *Los hombres del Benemérito*, 1:152.

73. Román Cárdenas to Santos M. Gómez, Caracas, 6 Mar. 1919, *BAHM* 13, no. 72 (1972): 200–201.

74. *Memoria de hacienda* 1920, cxxix, 1–3.

legally dissolved in mid-July 1919, after which the liquidation of its assets began.⁷⁵

Revenue officials in Zulia reported that these actions led to both an expansion of the industry and increased tax revenue, reinforcing Cárdenas's vision. Entrepreneurs who had abandoned the liquor industry rushed to fill the void created by the monopoly's demise. During the following year in Zulia, the number of licensed distilleries operating rose from 7 to 18, liquor processing establishments increased from 4 to 22, and wholesalers increased from 11 to 35.⁷⁶ Officials reported that with greater competition among licensed producers and suppliers, prices declined and sales of taxed alcoholic beverages increased. From July through December 1919, liquor revenues in the state rose to 326,115.15 bolívares, an increase of 100,993.10 bolívares compared to the same six-month period in 1918.⁷⁷ Revenues continued to climb in 1920, when liquor receipts in Zulia rose by 406,629.12 bolívares over the previous year's amount.⁷⁸ During this period the acting state president, General José de Jesús Gabaldón, guarded against the reemergence of the defunct monopoly by discouraging a state official from going into business with Eduardo Leseur, a former partner in Unión Destiladora who sought to reenter the liquor trade. Gabaldón informed Cárdenas that he was cooperating with Zulia's new administrator of the liquor revenue to fulfill Cárdenas's agenda, which Gabaldón summarized as "liberty for the industry, consequent rise in revenue, and no manipulative intervention in this sector by agents of the Government."⁷⁹

These developments confirmed Treasury officials' faith in the maxim that freer competition boosted tax revenues. Treasury officials in states under direct administration repeatedly invoked this axiom when attempting to stamp out local monopolies.⁸⁰ Meanwhile, investors in the liquor business, long

75. "Compañía disuelta," *Panorama* (Maracaibo), 16 July 1919, p. 1; "Compañía Anónima 'Unión Destiladora,'" *Panorama* (Maracaibo), 12 July 1919, p. 6; "Un buen negocio," *Panorama* (Maracaibo), 16 Dec. 1919, p. 3.

76. Alfredo Ravard, "Administración de la renta de licores de Maracaibo," 3 Jan. 1920, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1920, pp. 204-5; Ramón de J. Vera, "Administración de la renta de licores de Maracaibo," 31 Dec. 1920, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1921, pp. 340-41.

77. Ravard, "Administración de la renta," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1920, pp. 204-5.

78. Vera, "Administración de la renta," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1921, pp. 340-41.

79. José J. Gabaldón to Román Cárdenas, Maracaibo, 10 Nov. 1919, *BAHM* 22, nos. 112-113 (1981): 214-15.

80. Examples include Oscar Sanáñez López, "Administración de la renta de licores de Ciudad Bolívar," 1 Jan. 1920, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1920, pp. 217-18; Ramón de J. Vera, "Administración de la renta de licores de Maracaibo," 31 Dec. 1921, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1922, pp. 225-26; "Libertad industrial," *El Rehabilitador* (Trujillo), 11 Jan. 1919, p. 2.

accustomed to the need for political protection to guarantee access to local markets, continued to make overtures to political figures who could act as protectors or investors in their enterprises. But under Cárdenas, the Treasury Ministry attempted to steer the industry toward free trade when possible.⁸¹ His dream of fiscal modernity—including bureaucratic administration of the liquor tax across the nation, free-market competition, and a continual increase in revenue as the industry expanded—seemed within his grasp. The major obstacle to its fulfillment was, of course, the continuation of liquor tax farming in states where the federal government still had not transitioned to direct administration. While this delay was publicly attributed to a lack of trained personnel,⁸² political factors also played a role.

Issues of patronage and the personal interests of Gómez and his family prevented Cárdenas from ending the liquor tax farms in four states: Táchira, where the revenue contract went to General Eustoquio Gómez, the state president and the dictator's cousin, who secured Venezuela's western border against dissident invasions; Mérida, where the contract was shared among members of the influential Parra-Picón clan and the state's president, General Amador Uzcátegui; and Aragua and Carabobo, where Gómez, as well as his family and close allies, owned extensive sugar haciendas that produced large quantities of aguardiente.⁸³ In these last two states, business associates of Gómez held the tax farm from 1915 to 1931. In Aragua, the liquor contract went to Roberto Ramírez, who was also employed by Gómez to manage his business enterprises and who became a partner in the dictator's oil concession trading company.⁸⁴ In Carabobo the contract went to Ramón Ramos and Antonio Pimentel, two of Gómez's partners in the Central Tacarigua, a large agro-industrial complex producing sugar and aguardiente.⁸⁵

The imposition of direct administration in all other regions had increased revenues, but it sometimes caused political disruptions. For example, General

81. Benjamín Santos, "Administración de la renta de licores de Trujillo," 3 Jan. 1920, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1920, pp. 205–7.

82. "Las grandes reformas de la hacienda actual," *La Voz de Portuguesa* (Guanare), 18 Mar. 1916.

83. For the continuation of tax farming in these states until 1932, see "Renta de Licores," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1932, cxvii.

84. Venezuela. Jurado de Responsabilidad Civil y Administrativa (hereafter cited as JRCA), *Sentencias*, 3:311–14, 324–26; Dupuy, *Propiedades del General*, 11.

85. Pimentel was not named in the contract but worked as Ramos's partner. JRCA, *Sentencias*, 3:259–62, 5:123. For the Central Tacarigua, see Cordero Velásquez, *Gómez y las fuerzas vivas*, 118.

Vincencio Pérez Soto, the president of Apure State, held the liquor contract there until the Treasury assumed direct control of the tax in 1917 and appointed Tulio Carnevali Picón as administrator, thus depriving Pérez Soto of a profitable perquisite. When in February 1918 Carnevali Picón was arrested during a fight in a brothel, Pérez Soto refused the bureaucrat's demand to be released from jail, citing his reputation for scandalous behavior. He informed Gómez that the administrator had offended local sensibilities by driving conspicuously around town with "a pale bird" (presumably a mistress or prostitute) at the same hour that respectable folk, including Pérez Soto's family, customarily came out to socialize.⁸⁶ Pérez Soto had hesitated to hold Carnevali Picón accountable for this unsavory conduct because it might appear that he, as the former tax farmer, was taking revenge for having lost the contract. Now that Carnevali Picón had been arrested, Pérez Soto expected him to retaliate by seeking assistance from his powerful kinsmen, the Parra-Picón clan, who intermittently held the tax farm in Mérida.⁸⁷ In the end, Pérez Soto retained Gómez's confidence and Apure's liquor tax remained under federal administration, but the smooth running of a state where Gómez had extensive cattle interests had been jeopardized.

This spat between a prominent state president and an influential family exemplified the potential pitfalls of dispatching a federal official to collect a tax formerly controlled by a state president. Adding to such tensions, liquor revenue officials in states under direct administration often took gratuitous swipes at the tax-farming system (and, by implication, insulted tax farmers) in their reports to Caracas, which the ministry later published for all to see.⁸⁸ Gómez, mindful of the need to maintain cohesion within his regime, had to weigh the financial benefits of direct administration against the potential disruption of imposing the new system.

These calculations of the trade-offs between maximizing revenue (via direct administration) and maintaining the perquisites available to powerful

86. Vincencio Pérez Soto to Juan Vicente Gómez, San Fernando de Apure, 3 Feb. 1918, *BAHM* 25, no. 120 (1985): 12-13.

87. Amador Uzcátegui to Juan Vicente Gómez, Mérida, 27 May 1924, *BAHM* 15, no. 77 (1974): 225-26; Amador Uzcátegui to Juan Vicente Gómez, Mérida, 4 Jan. 1921, *BAHM* 30, nos. 130-132 (1989-90): 271-72.

88. Tax farming was labeled "ruinous" and "deplorable" in, respectively, Ravard, "Administración de la renta," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1920, pp. 204-5; J. Lucena Pachano, "Administración de la renta de licores de Maracaibo," 10 Jan. 1918, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1918, pp. 177-78.

collaborators (via tax farming) changed around the time that Cárdenas retired as Treasury minister, in 1922. Not only did the cause of direct administration lose its most powerful advocate, but also Venezuela's 1922 petroleum law heralded the birth of a new era that would fundamentally transform national finances. This legislation, highly favorable to foreign oil companies, attracted a rush of US and European investment.⁸⁹ In 1925 petroleum became Venezuela's leading export, surpassing coffee for the first time, and the oil industry became an increasingly important source of public revenues. Mining taxes, which provided only 3 percent of government revenues at the beginning of the 1920s, reached 21 percent of federal revenue by the end of the decade. The oil boom also stimulated foreign trade, boosting customs revenues. Liquor tax receipts, relatively stable in absolute terms, slid from roughly 10 to 5 percent of all federal revenues. Treasury reserves, already at 35 million bolívars in 1922, reached 114 million in 1928.⁹⁰ In sum, oil made the fiscal rationale for direct administration of the liquor tax less urgent. Meanwhile, state presidents and other officials continued to seek tax-farming contracts.

Amid these trends, Gómez shifted away from direct administration and back toward tax farming. On August 16, 1922, less than two months after Cárdenas's retirement, the government contracted the rights to the liquor tax in Zulia, which had been under direct administration since 1915, to Ovidio Márquez Méndez, an associate of former state president García.⁹¹ In 1924, the ministry rented the liquor tax in Trujillo, which had been under direct administration since 1917, to Pérez Soto, the newly appointed state president. In 1927, as oil exports boomed, the states of Miranda, Portuguesa, Lara, Yaracuy, and Cojedes were returned to the tax-farming system, accelerating the abandonment of direct administration throughout the country.⁹² On July 1, 1928, all states still under direct administration were turned over to liquor tax farmers, usually the state president.⁹³ For these initial years of the oil boom, then, Venezuela might appear to illustrate scholars' proposition that petrostates

89. McBeth, *Juan Vicente Gómez*, 66, 70.

90. Salazar-Carrillo and West, *Oil and Development*, 58.

91. "Administración de la renta de licores de Maracaibo," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1923, ci; JRCA, *Sentencias*, 5:19.

92. "Arrendamiento del impuesto de licores," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1928, lxxvi. For contractors' names, see "Nómina de los contratistas del impuesto de aguardientes," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1928, p. 388.

93. "Arrendamiento del impuesto de licores," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1929, cvi; "Nómina de los arrendatarios del impuesto de aguardientes," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1929, p. 460.

lack the incentive to fully develop the “extractive capacities” needed for domestic taxation.⁹⁴

Tax Farming, 1915–1931

This dismantling of direct administration, however, did not mean that the Treasury entirely neglected its interest in maintaining its returns from the liquor tax. The Treasury demanded higher rents from tax farmers in selected states as early as 1916 and imposed widespread increases in rents from 1922 onward. As Gómez reintroduced liquor tax contracts, the Treasury imposed rates substantially higher than those of 1914, before direct administration had provided bureaucrats with direct knowledge of the liquor tax’s potential (see table 1). For example, the monthly payment of 70,000 bolívars demanded by the ministry for the liquor tax contract in Zulia in 1922 represented a dramatic increase over the 1914 rate of 19,000 bolívars.⁹⁵ The ministry noted that, having administered the tax directly in Zulia and other states, it now knew how much revenue could be collected and therefore how much contractors could truly afford to pay.⁹⁶ In this way, the Treasury benefited from its growing bureaucratic expertise even as it reverted to the contract system. Some tax farmers—like General José Antonio Baldó, president of Portuguesa, who bore one of the earliest increases—initially resisted but ultimately accepted the changes, passing on the higher cost to subcontractors at the district level.⁹⁷ Thus Gómez’s regime, like other centralizing states, successfully imposed more stringent contracts as it accumulated bureaucratic knowledge and strengthened its leverage vis-à-vis revenue farmers.⁹⁸ Significantly, Gómez’s loyalists continued to request the liquor tax concessions and to express gratitude when

94. Karl, *Paradox of Plenty*, 61.

95. “Nómina de los contratistas del impuesto de aguardientes,” in *Memoria de hacienda* 1923, p. 516. The rate was recorded as 35,000 bolívars every two weeks.

96. “Administración de la renta de licores de Maracaibo,” in *Memoria de hacienda* 1923, ci.

97. José Antonio Baldó to Juan Vicente Gómez, Guanare, 27 Nov. 1915, *BAHM* 28, no. 126 (1988): 122; Román Cárdenas to Juan Vicente Gómez, Caracas, 13 Sept. 1919, *BAHM* 13, no. 72 (1972): 221–22; “Nómina de los contratistas del impuesto de aguardientes para el primer semestre de 1916, con expresión de las cuotas quincenales,” in *Memoria de hacienda* 1916, p. 305. For the tax farmer in Mérida passing rate increases on to his subcontractors, see JRCA, *Sentencias*, 4:144–45.

98. Copland and Godley, “Revenue Farming,” 59–60; White, “From Privatized to Government-Administered,” 661.

they received them, indicating that tax farming remained an effective form of patronage despite the higher rents.⁹⁹

Gómez, then, was not forced into a stark choice between the pursuit of increased liquor revenues and the distribution of perquisites to his most powerful collaborators. The strict dichotomy between fiscal modernity and tax farming originally posited by Cárdenas was eroded in other ways as well. The administrator of the liquor revenue in the state of Lara reported that most of the men who had worked for him as federal employees were subsequently employed by the new tax farmer and state president, General Pedro Lizarraga, when Lara was converted back to the tax-farming system in 1927.¹⁰⁰ Lizarraga's contract for Lara and the neighboring state of Yaracuy required him to pay the Treasury 87,500 bolívars per month—a substantial increase over the 1914 rate of 35,000 bolívars for the two states—but he could count on the expertise of former Treasury bureaucrats to help him meet his quotas.¹⁰¹

Regardless of the extent to which tax-farming operations were bureaucratized, Gómez and Treasury officials recognized that liquor tax farmers generated their profits through both legal and illicit means. During the post-1916 period of rising rents, revenue farmers persisted in using their positions to monopolize local markets and to levy illegal fines and taxes, along with similar abuses—strategies much like those used by tax farmers throughout history and across the globe.¹⁰² Indeed, the Treasury all but condoned contractors' profiteering by ruling, in 1915, that tax farmers and their employees, unlike federal revenue officials, could hold financial interests in the liquor business. Contractual provisions requiring tax farmers to respect free trade were difficult to

99. In addition to correspondence already cited, see Juan Alberto Ramírez to Juan Vicente Gómez, San Cristóbal, 27 Sept. 1925, *BAHM* 13, no. 69 (1971): 216. Baldó claimed that state presidents could not meet their "public and personal obligations" without the liquor contracts. JRCA, *Sentencias*, 5:47.

100. Miguel Febres Cordero to Tulio Febres Cordero, Barquisimeto, 11 and 21 July 1927, Archivo y Biblioteca de Dr. Tulio Febres Cordero, Mérida, Correspondencia section.

101. "Nómina de los contratistas del impuesto de aguardientes," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1928, p. 388.

102. Venezuelan examples include Amador Uzcátegui to Juan Vicente Gómez, Mérida, 4 Jan. 1921, *BAHM* 30, nos. 130–132 (1989–90): 271–72; Juan Aranguren to Emil Sauer, Mérida, 11 Apr. 1919, enclosed with Sauer, "Data for the World's Anti-Alcoholic Congress," 7 May 1919, NARA, RDS, Maracaibo Consular Post Records, 1919, vol. 114, section 811.4; Emil Sauer to Department of State, Maracaibo, 31 Mar. 1919, NARA, RDS, 831.00/898, microfilm. For global examples, see Copland and Godley, "Revenue Farming," 64–65; Christian, *Living Water*, 117–217, 353–81.

enforce from Caracas;¹⁰³ in reality, the government's decision to allow tax farmers to invest in liquor signaled its toleration of profiteering in the states where the tax was under contract.¹⁰⁴ Meanwhile, the higher rental payments demanded by the Treasury may have increased tax farmers' incentives to maximize their earnings through any available means.

A few examples will illustrate tax farmers' continuation of illicit, monopolistic practices during the era of rising rents. One of the most dramatic cases of intimidation used to defend an illegal cartel arose from the tax-farming contract in Zulia. Ovidio Márquez Méndez, whom the Treasury had designated as the state's new tax farmer in 1922, was an ally of José María García, the former state president and partner in the dismantled Unión Destiladora monopoly, and the two men reportedly monopolized the liquor trade while Márquez held the contract (1922–1930). Two independent distillers in Zulia, Audio Bozo and Ulises Fuenmayor, accused García and Márquez of coercing them and others to join a partnership structured to funnel profits to Márquez, García, and their allies. Bozo, Fuenmayor, and other disadvantaged distillers journeyed to Caracas in 1926 to present their grievances to Gómez. But García and his uncle, José Rosario García, who was one of Gómez's closest advisors, allegedly threatened to send them to one of the regime's infamous prisons if they did so. Bozo and Fuenmayor gave in, but following Gómez's death in 1935 they filed a lawsuit against Márquez. He settled the case by paying the distillery owners 50,000 bolívars in compensation, though they claimed much higher losses.¹⁰⁵

A similar intertwining of political and commercial power led to the ruin of many distillers in the state of Yaracuy under the administration of General Félix Galavís, who had led the modernization of Gómez's army in 1910–1914. As state president and liquor tax farmer in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Galavís monopolized retail sales by forcing distillers to sell their aguardiente to him at low prices and then selling it to the public at inflated prices—but only after diluting the booze with water to increase his profits even more. Distillery owners in the district of Nirgua who questioned Galavís's scheme were summoned to meet him at the local police headquarters, where he berated them. One ruined distillery owner later declared that more than 20 of his colleagues

103. See Article 7 of the contract in *Memoria de hacienda* 1916, pp. 301–3.

104. "Aplicación del artículo 121 de la Ley Orgánica de la Renta de Licores," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1916, lxi–lxii.

105. JRCA, *Sentencias*, 5:18–20, 23–29; *ibid.*, 2:284, 301–2.

went out of business because of Galavís's actions and the economic depression that coincided with his presidency.¹⁰⁶

Tax farmers also continued to guard their monopolies by discouraging merchants from importing liquor from other jurisdictions. The Treasury received "constant" complaints that tax farmers invented a tax, referred to as a "valorization," charged on aguardiente brought into their states.¹⁰⁷ These unauthorized levies proved so onerous that many distillers quit trying to sell their product in neighboring states where the tax was farmed.¹⁰⁸ Francisco Santelli, who owned an important distillery in the eastern city of Carúpano, complained that tax farmers "could always find pretexts to place obstacles" in the way of interstate trade.¹⁰⁹ At least one tax farmer claimed that such restrictions on trade were necessary for his contract to be viable. General Vincencio Pérez Soto, as president and tax farmer of Trujillo State in 1924, informed Gómez that, after losing almost 11,000 bolívars administering the liquor tax over four months, he was entering into a partnership with various merchants and distillers that would, among other provisions, exclude imports from the neighboring state of Zulia. He asked for Gómez's understanding because "you did not favor me with the contract so that I would lose [money]."¹¹⁰ Pérez Soto's letter mentioned repeatedly the large sums he paid the Treasury and implied that these fees required him to prohibit Zulian imports.

Tax farmers' profits are difficult to calculate because these individuals reaped both licit and illicit earnings and because their expenses included overhead for collecting revenue and often for producing and selling liquor as well. Nevertheless, scattered evidence indicates that liquor revenue contracts were quite lucrative (as they were in Colombia), even with increased rental rates.¹¹¹ US consul Emil Sauer learned from Eloy Montenegro that the latter's patron, General Eustoquio Gómez, the president and tax farmer of Táchira

106. Ibid., 5:242-45.

107. Treasury minister to liquor tax farmers, 11 May 1928, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1929, p. 461.

108. Oscar Sanánez López, "Administración de la renta de licores de Trujillo," 24 Jan. 1918, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1918, p. 180. See also JRCA, *Sentencias*, 5:240-41.

109. Quoted in Rodríguez, *La historia de la caña*, 119.

110. Vincencio Pérez Soto to Juan Vicente Gómez, Trujillo, 29 Nov. 1924, in Segnini et al., *Los hombres del Benemérito*, 2:285-87.

111. In Colombia, according to Malcolm Deas, "the tax on *aguardientes* and *licores*, organized under the system of *remates*, [was] the originator of, and a contributor to, some of the largest and most famous fortunes in the country." Deas, "Fiscal Problems," 309.

State who monopolized aguardiente sales there, cleared a net profit of roughly 30,000 bolívares per month (or 360,000 bolívares annually) after deducting payments to the Treasury and other expenses.¹¹² When in 1946 a special anti-corruption tribunal prosecuted several liquor tax farmers from the Gómez era, investigators, using a variety of sources to calculate profits from the contracts, arrived at estimates similar to those obtained by Sauer. They calculated that Márquez earned approximately 250,000 bolívares a year from his contract in Zulia in 1922–1930, and that Galavís earned 400,000 bolívares a year in Yaracuy in 1929–1931.¹¹³ An especially cooperative defendant, General José Antonio Baldó, estimated that his periodic earnings from several liquor tax contracts totaled 680,000 bolívares over the course of the dictatorship.¹¹⁴ Roberto Ramírez, Gómez's business manager, allegedly earned an average of 109,412 bolívares annually over the 17 years that he held the contract in Aragua State and parts of neighboring Guárico for a total profit of 1.86 million bolívares—much more than the 687,950 bolívares he apparently earned from participating in petroleum concessions.¹¹⁵ These figures should be treated with caution, but they suggest that liquor contracts were among the most lucrative perquisites distributed by Gómez to his allies.

The Transition to Direct Administration

The resurgence of tax farming lasted into the early 1930s, when the global depression struck Venezuela and threatened state finances; this drove Gómez to look for new revenues, as he and Cárdenas had done in the mid-1910s. During the second half of 1930, as foreign trade and tax receipts plummeted, the Treasury's cash reserves fell from roughly 100 million bolívares to 30 million.¹¹⁶ Gómez, who in 1929 had turned the presidency over to Juan Bautista Pérez in order to devote time to the army and his business empire, returned as

112. "Memorandum para el Sr Dn Emil Sauer," enclosed with Sauer, "Data for the World's Anti-Alcoholic Congress," 7 May 1919, NARA, RDS, Maracaibo Consular Post Records, 1919, vol. 114, section 811.4. Montenegro was Eustoquio Gómez's private secretary and jefe civil of Táchira's capital, San Cristóbal. Chiossone, *Memorias de un reaccionario*, 67.

113. JRCA, *Sentencias*, 5:28–29, 249.

114. *Ibid.*, 5:47.

115. *Ibid.*, 3:320–21, 326.

116. H. Eric Trammell to Department of State, Caracas, 25 Nov. 1930, NARA, RDS, Record Group 59, box 5785, 831.00/1466.

president in 1931 and directed major budgetary decisions, determined to preserve his reputation for fiscal discipline.¹¹⁷

The dire situation persuaded Gómez to abandon the liquor tax farm and to establish direct government control in hopes of increasing revenue, even though it meant withdrawing the contracts from his allies. After months of planning, he decreed in December 1931 that Treasury personnel would administer the liquor tax throughout Venezuela.¹¹⁸ As of January 1, 1932, the farming of the liquor tax—the only federal revenue under contract—would end. *El Nuevo Diario* announced the appointment of a new “special commissioner for organization of the liquor revenue,” with a headline emphasizing that his jurisdiction encompassed “all the national territory.”¹¹⁹

Gómez’s attempt to restore national finances and faith in his administration bore fruit within months, even before the oil industry began to recover. “The government’s program of economy outlined in the budget is being adhered to in a fairly satisfactory manner,” reported the US minister in February 1932. “The government’s tendency to look for further sources of income within the country,” he added, “was clearly reflected in the Decree placing the control of the liquor traffic in the hands of Federal authorities.”¹²⁰ In May 1932, he reported that the Venezuelan government’s cash reserves had increased steadily since Gómez reassumed the presidency and now totaled more than 60 million bolívars, a substantial upturn since Pérez’s departure.¹²¹ US diplomats continued to comment favorably on Gómez’s fiscal management, which contributed to American support for his regime in his final years.¹²² Although total revenues under Gómez never returned to pre-1930 levels, the regime partially offset trade-related losses by reducing expenditures and increasing receipts from domestic taxes. Liquor

117. George Summerlin to Department of State, Caracas, 15 June 1931, NARA, RDS, Record Group 59, box 5793, 831.51/163.

118. “Importantes decretos presidenciales,” *El Nuevo Diario* (Caracas), 19 Dec. 1931, pp. 1–3.

119. “Comisionado Especial—General José Félix Machado Díaz, nombrado por resolución de ayer comisionado especial para la organización de la renta de licores con jurisdicción en todo el territorio nacional,” *El Nuevo Diario* (Caracas), 23 Dec. 1931, p. 1; “Importantes nombramientos del Ministerio de Hacienda,” *El Nuevo Diario* (Caracas), 23 Dec. 1931, p. 1.

120. George Summerlin to Department of State, Caracas, 4 Feb. 1932, NARA, RDS, Record Group 59, box 5793, 831.51/174.

121. George Summerlin to Department of State, Caracas, 19 May 1932, NARA, RDS, Record Group 59, box 5793, 831.51/179.

122. Warden Wilson to Department of State, Caracas, 29 June 1933, NARA, RDS, Record Group 59, box 5793, 831.51/189.

revenue rose from 9.17 million bolívares in 1930–1931 to an all-time high of 13.71 million bolívares in 1932–1933 following the shift to direct administration (see table 2). The increase resulted not only from the change to bureaucratic administration but also from a 50 percent increase in liquor tax rates.

To justify the creation of a nationwide bureaucracy to tax liquor, the Treasury claimed that the shift would invigorate the industry as well as increase revenue.¹²³ This argument linking bureaucratic management to both industrial development and revenue maximization signaled the persistence of Cárdenas's vision of fiscal modernity within the ministry. The new revenue administration also pursued modernizers' dream of the territorial completion of a bureaucratic state (to paraphrase Ogborn). For example, in the Andean states of Táchira, Mérida, and Trujillo, revenue officials fanned out into the countryside in a campaign to confiscate small farmers' clandestine stills; they were successful enough in expanding the reach of state surveillance that intense popular resentment against liquor revenue officials arose in the Andes.¹²⁴

But this return to bureaucratic administration did not eliminate clientelist or patrimonial practices. Some of Gómez's allies, including former tax farmers Antonio Pimentel and Ramón Ramos, continued in the aguardiente business and received favored treatment under the new tax regime.¹²⁵ Gómez also continued to claim privileges for himself and his family. Between 1932 and 1935, over 3.5 million bolívares of taxes on aguardiente produced on estates belonging to the dictator and his relatives were paid out of a notorious slush fund in the Ministry of Interior Relations used to make ad hoc payments benefiting regime loyalists; these liquor "revenues" represented nothing more than funds transferred from one ministry to another.¹²⁶ Thus the imagined dichotomy between modern federal administration and backward tax farming continued to be blurred in reality. Just as growing bureaucratic expertise had

123. "Introducción," in *Memoria de hacienda* 1932, ix–x. See also *Memoria de hacienda* 1932, pp. 11–15.

124. Teodoro Méndez to Ministro de Hacienda, Trujillo, 1 Jan. 1933, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1933, pp. 295–96; Teodoro Méndez to Ministro de Hacienda, Trujillo, 2 Jan. 1934, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1934, p. 328; José Quintero García to Ministro de Hacienda, Trujillo, 30 Dec. 1933, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1934, pp. 354–55; O. Sanáñez López to Ministro de Hacienda, San Cristóbal, 2 Jan. 1934, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1935, pp. 317–19; Anzola, *Aguas ardientes*, 107.

125. Dirección de la Renta Interna, "Documento número 318," 5 Oct. 1936, in *Memoria de hacienda* 1937, p. 461; JRCA, *Sentencias*, 5:122–23.

126. "Texto íntegro de la sensacional demanda del Procurador General de la Nación," *El Universal* (Caracas), 4 May 1936, reprinted in Velásquez, *Gobierno y época*, 10:74–77; JRCA, *Sentencias*, 2:241.

informed the Treasury's supervision of the tax-farming system during the period of increasing rents, so too did patrimonial practices persist into the era of federal administration.

Conclusion

A focus on the liquor tax, then, provides glimpses of the formation and inner logic of a neopatrimonial state combining legal-rational and patrimonial methods of rule. Gómez consistently weighed the need for revenue against demands for patronage from his rent-seeking collaborators, which resulted in a fiscal transition that was more circuitous, contingent, and indeterminate than the one imagined by Cárdenas and other advocates of fiscal modernity. To be sure, the discourse of modernity employed by Cárdenas in his campaign against tax farming yielded important results—the formation of bureaucratic cadres, the accumulation of expert knowledge, increased revenues during the crucial period of World War I, the dismantling of patrimonial monopolies like Unión Destiladora, and the transition to direct administration of internal taxes, including, eventually, the liquor revenue. But bureaucratic management was only implemented selectively by Gómez as he sought to consolidate a state that served his own private interests and those of his family and allies. Gómez implemented fiscal modernity only at those moments, and only to the extent, that it fortified a state that continued to obey a largely patrimonial logic.

These developments unfolded during a critical period. If Coronil is correct that the Gómez regime initiated the peculiar interweaving of rent-seeking and modernity that defined Venezuela's twentieth-century petrostate,¹²⁷ it is equally clear that such neopatrimonial dynamics were not confined to the petroleum economy alone. They included the interplay between Cárdenas's drive to implement Western bureaucratic norms and the pragmatic calibrations of Gómez, whose ability to employ diverse forms of power left a lasting imprint on the Venezuelan state.

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127. Coronil, *Magical State*, 76–86.

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From the Depths of Patagonia: The Ushuaia Penal Colony and the Nature of “The End of the World”

Ryan Edwards

In early December 1932, Colonel Charles Wellington Furlong addressed members of the Royal Geographical Society with a reading from his recently finished report on Tierra del Fuego. His opening line got straight to the point: “Few sections of the globe are less generally known or intrigue the imagination more than the cold Land of Fire.”¹ Furlong proceeded by listing the famous explorers who had charted the region’s channels, including Ferdinand Magellan, James Cook, and Robert FitzRoy; he even noted the fictional travels of author Jules Verne’s *Nautilus* through the area. These explorers and their widely read travel narratives certainly speak to why Tierra del Fuego would intrigue the imagination. In them Furlong found some of his own inspiration to journey there in 1907, traveling roughly 8,000 miles from New York City to Ushuaia, one of the world’s southernmost outposts and the capital of Argentine Tierra del Fuego. And yet, with all these renowned accounts, Furlong’s now included, for whom was the region a terra incognita? What about the inhabitants of Ushuaia—certainly they knew something of their surroundings? Furlong noted upon his first visit that the military and civil prisons were the port’s *raison d’être*, “as at most penal colonies, the inevitable embryo town followed the establishment of the prisons.”² However, such towns do not simply spring up.

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1. Furlong, “Exploration in Tierra del Fuego,” 211. This report is based on multiple expeditions during 1907–1908, 1910, and 1926.

2. Charles Wellington Furlong, “Amid the Islands of the Land of Fire,” *Harper’s Monthly Magazine* (New York), Feb. 1909, p. 338.

As with Ushuaia, the prisoners build them, and while their labors may be marginally acknowledged, their ideas and experiences often go unsolicited. How did the experiences of these prisoners, confined to the Beagle Channel for years while Furlong made his intermittent transatlantic voyages, inflect, transform, or even preclude the visions of this mythic Patagonian landscape, etched so deeply into the popular imagination?

It seems that Furlong did not ask such questions, but he is not alone. Explorers have cast long shadows over lesser-known actors in the historiography of Patagonia.³ Prisoners, in this case, occupied a liminal zone with regard to geographical representation, as they typically lacked the authority of academic and field training possessed by explorers and naturalists, and though their status as criminals often led others to deem them subhuman, they were hardly noble savages considered to have a privileged relationship to the land. Thus while Furlong sought the guidance of the island's lettered British missionaries and hunted alongside the indigenous Onas and Yahgans, he did not use prisoners as sources or guides in his reports on the island, reports that, despite their nuanced rendering of Tierra del Fuego's physical geography and cultural anthropology, provide yet another Patagonia narrative about the "gale-swept" landscape and its "primitive" inhabitants. This durable traveler lexicon, though varied and complex, had already been reduced by the time of Furlong's address, which thus reinforced a categorization of Patagonia as prehistoric, windswept, and desolate.

Such accounts continue today, perpetuating what literary scholar Gabriela Nouzeilles calls the "imperial geographical imagination" fixated on how "Patagonia's lack of limits connects it to the myth of vanishing into the end of the world."⁴ Indeed, a flourishing industry has been built on this discourse, as tourists visiting Ushuaia today can even get "El Fin del Mundo" stamped in their passport. The many gift shops on the city's Avenida San Martín carry dozens of books in multiple languages by the numerous explorers who have reflected upon the region, alongside a small but growing collection of narratives on the most infamous figures held in the world's southernmost prison. However, the two subjects are rarely treated together. In recent years, scholars have

3. The list of travel narratives on Patagonia is extensive. As a start, see Pigafetta, *Voyage of Magellan* (1525); Darwin, *Voyage of the Beagle* (1839); Moreno, *Viaje a la Patagonia austral* (1879); Hudson, *Idle Days in Patagonia* (1893); Payró, *La Australia Argentina* (1898); Onelli, *Trepando los Andes* (1904); Chatwin, *In Patagonia* (1977); Theroux, *Old Patagonian Express* (1979).

4. Nouzeilles, "Patagonia as Borderland," 35–36.

deconstructed the Patagonia discourses of travelers and *científicos*, providing an aperture for recovering alternative understandings and representations of this mythic region.⁵ Building upon these works, this article engages Patagonia from a different perspective, one that is contingent, historical, and place-based rather than bound to a narrative of the boundless. The point, however, is not to offer a more definitive vocabulary for Patagonia or Tierra del Fuego. The region is too large, too complex, and too dynamic to be so easily captured. Nor can one simply dismiss the powerful and enduring language of travelers, which has for so long defined the region.⁶ But by trying to see one corner of Patagonia through exiled eyes, this article aims to dislodge such dominant narratives and to question Ushuaia's status as "el fin del mundo."⁷

While this article focuses primarily on Ushuaia, it should be stressed that the experience of incarceration began well before a prisoner was sent south, and it often followed these men long after their release. Each step of the way, from the moment of arrest (and in many ways well before) to detention in northern jails and then transfer in a cramped police car to the hull of a southbound steamship, prisoners anticipated and imagined their fate before disembarking in Ushuaia Bay. Unpacking this process offers an important angle on the relationship between penal colonization and state formation in Argentine Patagonia. And by placing these processual elements alongside the well-known travelers' discourse, we find that social and environmental networks make confinement and exile relational and dialogical rather than a one-way sending. More specifically for Ushuaia, in lieu of a monolithic landscape, a carceral ecology comes into view that reveals the dynamic entanglement of prison and place.⁸

De Profundis

Enrique V. Arnold, like most prisoners, was numerically coded: prisoner 165, sentenced in Buenos Aires in 1910 to 25 years.⁹ Reflecting on his crime while in

5. Livon-Grosman, *Geografías imaginarias*; López, *Representaciones de la Patagonia*; Jagoe, *End of the World*; Peñaloza, Wilson, and Canaparo, *Patagonia*.

6. See Sachs, "Ultimate 'Other.'"

7. Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* engaged Patagonia briefly through a reading of travel writer Paul Theroux and has more generally been influential for the deconstruction of Patagonia narratives.

8. My dissertation in progress, "A Carceral Ecology: Earth and Elsewhere in Argentina's Ushuaia Penal Colony (1860–1960)," addresses these processes in more detail, making broader connections to incarceration, the prison industry, and state formation.

9. Arnold was imprisoned for the murder of Esther Naddeo, a case that received some media attention. See coverage in *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), 11–15 Jan. 1910.

Ushuaia, Arnold penned a poem that covered the common prison themes of surrender and repentance in religious overtones. "De profundis" it was titled, Latin for "out of the depths."¹⁰ Most commonly associated with Psalm 130, this term refers to the act of reaching out to God during one's darkest moments from the depths of one's heart and soul, a religious process that renders these emotions rather placeless and universal.¹¹ Yet the phrase gained a spatial resonance years earlier when Oscar Wilde used the same title for his prison memoir. In his opening description of imprisonment—"The very sun and moon seem taken from us. Outside, the day may be blue and gold, but the light that creeps down through the thickly-muffled glass of the small iron-barred window beneath which one sits is grey and niggard. It is always twilight in one's cell, as it is always twilight in one's heart"—Wilde emphasizes confinement by distinguishing between his gray, dimly lit cell and the bright blue and gold world outside, also a common theme in prison memoirs.¹² Writings from the Ushuaia penitentiary, however, complicate the prison dichotomy between inside and outside worlds. For there the surrounding peaks also enclosed prisoners, as the steep topography from Ushuaia Bay to the Martial Mountains rises more than 4,000 feet in less than a few miles. Further increasing this sense of natural enclosure is the fact that, located at the southern 55th parallel, the region is marked by long dark winters and a low-lying summer sun, which, as the sun hardly rises above the northern ranges, can give the feeling of being below ground. While Arnold uses "De profundis" first and foremost to evoke a prison purgatory, undergirding his and the many religious and internal revelations of Ushuaia prisoners were meditations on the region's geographical forces. Therefore, a second reading of Arnold's poem allows for a more spatial interpretation, one suggesting that Ushuaia was not "the end of the world" but rather a spiritual as well as material underworld. This space was more than an enclosure; it was a grave. "I am buried alive," began the poem's final stanza, "I

10. Arnold, "De profundis." The first reprint of this poem appears to be in Lovece, "El Pabellón N° 5." The collection from which I cite the poem, which today can be found in tourist gift shops, includes a variety of prisoner writings from published sources.

11. The first stanza of Psalm 130 (English Standard Version), part of "Song of Ascents," reads: "Out of the depths I cry to you, O Lord! / O Lord, hear my voice! / Let your ears be attentive / To the voice of my pleas for mercy!"

12. Wilde, *De Profundis*, 2. Wilde was imprisoned in 1896, and his prison writings were published posthumously in 1905. For a broad overview of this genre, see Carnochan, "Literature of Confinement."

am dead to all / Yet I exist where I am.”¹³ Such sentiments, and more specifically this “where” evoked by Arnold’s poem, warrant investigation.

Furlong and many Argentine statesmen saw Ushuaia as a natural prison, as “such an out-of-the-world, desolate spot as Ushuaia meets [the Argentine Republic’s] utmost needs. *Without man’s agencies, Ushuaia itself is imprisoned*: behind, the impassable barrier of jagged peaks with their perpetual snows; in front, the limitless gale-swept channelways; beyond, to the south, the Antarctic Ocean.”¹⁴ Proposals to construct a penal colony in this extreme setting date back to at least 1868, when Nicasio Oroño, a senator from Rosario, suggested a labor colony in Patagonia as part of a larger reform to the nation’s penal code.¹⁵ Oroño demanded that the death penalty be abolished for civilian criminals and, instead, that individuals be sentenced to a domestic location in the far south, where they would labor and acquire Argentine morals and ethics. Historian Lila Caimari describes this proposition as a “double purification,” as prisoners’ souls would be purified and Buenos Aires, by sending them south to Patagonia, would be purged of its delinquents.¹⁶

While proponents pointed to French New Caledonia and English Australia as models, the distinction between internal national territory and external colony was not as clear in the Argentine case. Though juridically Argentine following the Boundary Treaty of 1881 with Chile, eastern Patagonia, especially its southern extremes, continued to be outside central administrative influence and control, as evinced by the common lament that the region’s indigenous peoples spoke English rather than Spanish after years of interaction with British missionaries.¹⁷ The penal colony therefore was a way to rein in a region that, while claimed as part of Argentina, was not yet Argentine in practice.¹⁸ Thus, President Julio Roca commissioned expeditions in 1882 to scout a strategic location for the colony. Santiago Bove, of the Argentine Austral Expedition, suggested Tierra del Fuego, and shortly after, in 1884, the Argentine flag was raised in Ushuaia. By the time the Second Offenders Law

13. Arnold, “De profundis,” 72.

14. Furlong, “Amid the Islands,” 338. Emphasis added.

15. On these early proposals, see García Basalo, *La colonización penal*, 3–13.

16. Caimari, *Apenas un delincuente*.

17. The boundary treaty only partly solved such questions of national and cultural influence, and instead it facilitated new and localized forms of economic and administrative monopolies that lasted well into the early twentieth century. See Harambour-Ross, “Borderland Sovereignities.”

18. Agricultural communities were also used to this end in Latin America. See Rausch, “Using Convicts”; Klubock, “Politics of Forests.”

was passed in 1895, authorizing the construction of a penal colony in the far south, Tierra del Fuego's population was just 242 people on 19,000 square miles, 131 of whom resided in Ushuaia.¹⁹ With such a sparse population, the prison served as a material artifact of the state, situated near the most southwestern point of the island to mark Argentine, rather than Chilean (or British), territory.²⁰

The prison, however, was more than a symbol of sovereignty. It was a combination of internal settler colony and town of forced migration, a development policy that responded to a long-held discourse of Patagonia as a lifeless wasteland, the most famous example of which perhaps comes from Charles Darwin's September 1836 journal entry. Emphasizing the eastern Patagonian desert, Darwin detailed how "in calling up images of the past, I find that the plains of Patagonia frequently cross before my eyes; yet these plains are pronounced by all wretched and useless. They can be described only by negative characters; without habitations, without water, without trees, without mountains, they support merely a few dwarf plants."²¹ With regard to southern Tierra del Fuego, where the Atlantic and the Andes converge, he said rather succinctly, "Death, instead of Life, seemed the predominant spirit"; there, "Death and Decay prevail."²² Half a century later, a wave of nationalist explorers and naturalists set out to claim and redefine Patagonia east of the Andean peaks as an Argentine space of potential and splendor, endeavoring to overturn Darwin's representation of the region as a negative space outside history and humanity. Literary scholar Jens Andermann argues, for example, that Francisco Moreno, Argentina's foremost naturalist, envisioned in Patagonia "the emergence of national being from a space of death" through the expeditions made to unearth the region's large dinosaur fossils and indigenous skeletal remains for his Museo de La Plata, the nation's natural history museum.²³

19. See García Basalo, *La colonización penal*, 33–58, 68–75. Indigenous peoples were not counted in the census and had been reduced from many thousands to a few hundred by military campaigns and, increasingly, disease.

20. The original military prison was constructed a few kilometers west of Ushuaia in Lapataia, on the Chilean border. See Cecarelli, *El penal fueguino*.

21. Darwin, *Voyage of the Beagle*, 450.

22. *Ibid.*, 187, 450. The Argentine south is often referred to as Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, distinguishing the continent from the island. Nevertheless, Tierra del Fuego is understood as part of Patagonia. On these geographical definitions, see Said H., *Patagonia*, 23–26.

23. Andermann, *Optic of the State*, 55.

However, disenchantment soon replaced the promise of progress and the hopes of populating the region. The optimism of Argentine explorers simply could not be sustained, as even Moreno conceded that “everything is the same, monotony is unbearable here. . . . the enthusiasm of [our] first endeavors vanishes in us as we proceed.”²⁴ As Paul Carter has argued, for explorers, to navigate is to name, and in the absence of memorable geographic markers, for disenchanted travelers eastern Patagonia continued to be encapsulated by repetitive adjectives—deserted, vast, endless, monotonous—rather than nouns by which to travel and orient oneself.²⁵ Patagonia in this discourse was a space absent of life, where dreams of Argentine progress flattened like the eastern horizon. In 1878, Estanislao Zeballos, a prominent statesman and geographer, claimed that the Patagonian desert “seemed to reject civilized life, producing death at sheer contact.”²⁶ Due to this perceived death and monotony, the iconic writings of Darwin, the man these Argentine explorers so eagerly wrote against, began to resurface, and Patagonia again appeared as beyond the reach of humanity.²⁷

And yet metaphors of death are not death itself, as the prisoners exiled to Ushuaia would readily remind us. Rather than conquer southern Patagonian nature, Argentine administrators made the region’s perceived cruelty productive by incorporating these natural elements into a prison system in which death and monotony were, to varying degrees, intentional components. Certainly, prisoners such as Arnold brought the specter of death with them, given that they were exiled for homicide and violent crimes. And, as the archives in Ushuaia reveal, violence among the prisoners was prolific at times and could result in the death of inmates. However, more structurally, death was institutionalized through torture as well as poor work and living conditions that extended beyond the prison walls. Thus, while Andermann’s deconstruction of the Argentine natural history museum is evocative, the death he examines is largely past and passive, focused on fossils and skeletons.²⁸ Killing in Patagonia did not end with the conquest of the desert or with Julio Popper’s gold expeditions to Tierra del Fuego in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Rather, while these campaigns claimed the region that President Roca called a *res nullius*, the

24. Moreno, *Viaje a la Patagonia austral*, 275. For more on these “patriotic fictions of place,” see Nouzeilles, “Iconography of Desolation,” 260–61.

25. Carter, *Road to Botany Bay*. See also Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed*.

26. Zeballos, *La conquista de quince mil*, 239. See Andermann, “Conquering Time.”

27. Nouzeilles, “Iconography of Desolation,” 258.

28. For a similar critique, see Ryan, “Indigenous Possessions.”

Argentine government failed to populate the south with “civilized” Argentines beyond some large estancias and a few concentrated outposts.²⁹ Prisoners were therefore charged with the task, and while the first groups of volunteers and transfers sent to Ushuaia during 1899 and 1900 began construction in exchange for reduced sentences, within a few years such deals had largely ceased and “incorrigibles” and their families assumed that exile meant a one-way journey to the presidio.³⁰ In 1909, for example, the prisoner Pedro Espada had lost all hope and said “farewell to the world” in an interview with *Caras y Caretas*, stating, “I will not return, the Ushuaia prison is my grave, I have no doubt about it.”³¹

Prisoners like Espada were transported by steamship to Tierra del Fuego, bypassing the rite of passage celebrated by explorers through the eastern Patagonian desert to reach the western Andean majesty.³² Placed in the hull of these guarded steamships, the condemned were denied the sense of control to change course, to follow the prospects of a river or ridge, that came with travel by foot or horseback. In this way the ship became a “cárcel flotante,” one tomb transporting prisoners to another.³³ Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, therefore, the Ushuaia penal colony perpetuated in the region a space of both death and dying. But perhaps more accurately, it was, to revalue Darwin’s term, a space of decay, for despite Zeballos’s claim of immediate death upon mere contact with the region, the death prisoners experienced was often slow and processual. For Enrique Arnold, as for many others confined in Ushuaia, the feeling of being buried alive, following years of intermittent solitary confinement, mandated sleep deprivation, beatings, and food rationing, ended only with his death, in 1924.³⁴

29. On the emptying of “empty space,” see Canaparo, “Marconi and Other Artifices.”

30. This group included about 275 men and just a few females, and within three years, 140 of these inmates were released. See García Basalo, *La colonización penal*, 131–38. For more on “incorrigibles” and the science behind criminal labels, see Ruggiero, *Modernity in the Flesh*.

31. See Espada’s *despedida*, dated 10 Feb. 1909, in “Cómo se va á presidio,” *Caras y Caretas* (Buenos Aires), 17 Apr. 1909. (This publication is unpaginated.)

32. For more on this travel logic, see Nouzeilles, “Patagonia as Borderland,” 41.

33. Guillot, *Paralelo 55°*, 5. On the “incarcerational” element of travel, see Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 113.

34. On the treatment of Arnold, see Lovece, “El Pabellón N° 5.” Simón Radowitzky also mentioned the harsh punishments suffered by Arnold in his letter *La voz de mi conciencia*. He claimed that already in 1921 Arnold was on the verge of death, and fellow prisoners would later argue that the continued torture of Arnold caused his death.

Dreaming of Brighter Regions

Within a decade the military prison and second-offender prison merged, forming a single penal colony in Ushuaia Bay in 1911, and by 1914, the region surpassed 2,500 residents.³⁵ Along with these changes, new and multiple waves of prisoners were sent to Ushuaia in the 1910s and 1920s. In addition to those convicted of homicide and violent crimes, such prisoners included native-born “agitators,” particularly anarchists and leftist radicals, the arrest of whom was facilitated by the passing of the 1910 Law of Social Defense, which tightened the state’s control over perceived domestic threats.³⁶ Physicians in Argentina bolstered such political persecutions with modern science, arguing that anarchism was the result of mental and biological degeneration.³⁷ For example, Simón Radowitzky, prisoner 155, was exiled in 1911 for the assassination of police chief Ramón Falcón. During Radowitzky’s trial, the prosecution argued that “the physical appearance of the assassin has morphological characteristics that demonstrate with pronounced accents all the infamous marks of the criminal,” offering an extended catalogue of all the phrenological features that marked Radowitzky “as a delinquent type of person.”³⁸ These individuals were a fitting populace for Patagonia because rhetorically and scientifically they were rendered physical and biological others, a “delinquent type,” accursed men destined for what Darwin had labeled an accursed land. By 1917, Gordon Ross, former financial editor for the Buenos Aires *Standard*, noted with approval that anarchists “knew, or at least had read or heard, what the climate of Tierra del Fuego is; and that for people like them, used to fairly comfortable living, *confinement there most likely meant burial there also*.”³⁹ Five years later, a banishment clause was added to the penal code so that petty crimes by individuals with prior arrests could result in exile for “un tiempo indeterminado” or “reclusión perpetua.”⁴⁰

35. See the 1914 census in Canclini, *Ushuaia*. Men outnumbered women by more than five to one.

36. Rock, *Politics in Argentina*, 77–86. This law built upon the 1902 Law of Residence, which allowed the deportation of foreign “threats” to the republic.

37. Rodríguez, *Civilizing Argentina*, 231–32. On the relationship between anarchism and biological “degree of dangerousness,” see Ablard, *Madness in Buenos Aires*, 112–20.

38. Quoted in Bayer, “Simón Radowitzky,” 228. Radowitzky was arguably Ushuaia’s most famous prisoner and has received much scholarly attention for his global recognition within anarchist circles. For more, see Souchy, *Una vida por un ideal*.

39. Ross, *Argentina and Uruguay*, 198. Emphasis added.

40. Penal Code of 1922, arts. 52, 80. The Penal Code of 1922 was a sweeping reform of the 1887 penal code. See Teeters, *Penology from Panama*, 191–213.

These common prisoners rarely appear in the historical record prior to their arrest. It is therefore difficult to reconstruct the notions about nature that they brought with them to the region, though given the popular representations explored above, it is clear that a sinister vision of Ushuaia was circulating by the 1910s. Fear of being exiled there, however, was quite uneven, dependent on one's political leanings or criminal background. Moreover, this vision was rather general and was typically made and read from afar. We face a different source problem when trying to salvage writings from the prison. Often denied writing materials, especially as a form of punishment, prisoners used ephemeral mediums for their writings, which were sometimes etched in walls only to be paved over or written on fragile and loose fragments of paper that did not survive. We are also limited by the censorship of more durable forms of representation such as correspondence and prisoner-operated newspapers. However, discussions on climate and geography, a topic of conversation for everyone in the region, were not deemed threatening and thus evaded censorship, making them a revealing source of information. Turning to the nature writings of prisoners who labored and made lives in the penal colony, we find situated descriptions of an Ushuaia entangled in carceral and geographic forces.

Juan Octavio Fernández Pico, prisoner 91, sentenced in 1923, earned the title "el poeta máximo del penal" from journalist Anibal del Rié for his prolific writings.⁴¹ Fernández Pico's body of work translates the emotional struggle of "de profundis" into a vivid physical space that lacked the more familiar rhythms of nature elsewhere outside Ushuaia. For the condemned prior to their imprisonment, a sunrise or sunset had signified the beginning or end of a work shift, family time, or conversations with friends over coffee or beer, *mate* or wine. In other words, diurnal dynamics spoke to the plurality of human life, to the difference between one's personal time and the time due to one's employer, between spontaneity and routine. Anarcho-syndicalist groups addressed the importance of these different social times for all workers by demanding *los tres ochos* (eight hours each day for sleep, for work, and for leisure), and prisoners like Radowitzky managed to smuggle letters out of the prison on occasion to continue these groups' fight.⁴²

41. Rié, *Ushuaia*, 21. Fernández Pico had a lengthy criminal record, including two offenses prior to his sentencing to 19 years in Ushuaia, and he subsequently had at least two violent bouts while imprisoned. See Museo del Fin del Mundo, Ushuaia (hereafter MFM), Colección Judicial, exp. 1111, fol. 186.

42. On *los tres ochos*, see Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*. See, for example, the newspaper manifesto "La voz del presidio de Ushuaia," *La Voz del Chofer* (Valparaíso), 1 May

While Fernández Pico's political leanings are less clear, his poem "A Ushuaia" situates his and his fellow prisoners' banishment by highlighting the far south's peculiar diurnal rhythms and cycles, describing an environment simultaneously monotonous and extreme: "I too am a poet of your nights without shade / Of your nights so black, of your moons so low / Of your days without skies, of your sun without height."⁴³ For prisoners, whether raised in Buenos Aires or Santiago, Barcelona or Berlin, in Ushuaia it seemed that the sun did not rise in the east and set in the west. Likewise, the moon failed to peak in the middle of the night and to promise a new morning upon its descent. For months at a time these celestial beings failed to follow vertical patterns of rising and setting, and instead they seemed to rotate on horizontal tracks, never reaching their zeniths. Winter nights never ended and summer days were debilitating in their endless yet listless sunlight. "To see it," Fernández Pico said of the sun, "I think that it lacks the strength to rise and flame in order to burn off those clouds of faded and frayed cloth that surround us."⁴⁴ This was not simply a description of the landscape; it was also an appeal to more familiar functions of nature. With its feeble sun, the southern Patagonian environment affected more than humans. Fernández Pico noted that the sheep, pushed southward when the cattle industry took over the Pampas, were now scrawny and fragile as they walked the snow-covered soil, "sad, anemic, and numb."⁴⁵ The cattle that were lost in transit to the Pampas "knew not where they lived, nor where to graze."⁴⁶ He describes how gardenless homes of metal siding, their windows closed, "died dreaming of brighter regions," as if these inanimate objects, like the relocated men, sickly sheep, and lost cattle, "had seen other suns and drank other waters."⁴⁷ This biblical language echoed Darwin's antediluvian Patagonia, but it was also future-oriented, invoking a decaying rather than petrified landscape in which familiar ecological relations broke down.

While explorers had at times similarly evoked the region's environmental strangeness, this anemic nature gave new meaning to the darkness of the prison experience. On the verge of surrender, Fernández Pico concluded his poem

1924, p. 6, penned by Simón Radowitzky, Andrés Babby, Juan M. Casablanca, José Artacho, and Carmelo Morales.

43. Fernández Pico, "A Ushuaia," 76.

44. Juan Octavio Fernández Pico, "De seis a siete," *El Eco* (Ushuaia), 25 Dec. 1931, p. 6, located at MFM, Hemeroteca 11, cajon A-09. *El Eco* was a prisoner-operated newspaper that ran for at least two years under Jorge Reynoso, the local school director.

45. Fernández Pico, "A Ushuaia," 76.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*, 77.

"Dame más luz" with the refrain, "Give me more light or blind me / The semi-darkness kills me."⁴⁸ He claimed that all light in Ushuaia was "tragic," and therefore he demanded "light that illuminates" rather than the "lividity" that "kills one's conscience."⁴⁹ The light from the summer sun was relentlessly dim, while bright light came from either the artificial rays of prison lanterns, violent flashes of lightning, or the sparks from smashing steel, which left black stains on prisoners' skin and clothing. Marcial Belascoain Sayós, writing for the anarchist paper *La Protesta* in 1918, had described a similar effect after visiting the prison, claiming that in Ushuaia "the sun denies its own heat," as if it were incapable of performing its natural duties.⁵⁰ He argued that Ushuaia's "hostile wilderness," coupled with "the immense cold that comes from the polar south . . . increased the pain of captives" as part of the disciplinary mechanism.⁵¹ Ushuaia was compared less and less with tropical New Caledonia and temperate Australia and more and more instead with the Arctic confines of Russia as the "lejana Siberia criolla" (distant Argentine Siberia).⁵²

An Open-Door Panopticon

These environmental accounts should give us pause. While references to Siberia certainly resonated with those sent to Ushuaia as well as those who imagined it from afar, the Ushuaia prison was not a temporary labor or penal colony of wooden barracks, nor was it a war camp. Rather, it was a modern two-story panopticon made of stone and steel, mirroring the most recent prison architecture from Buenos Aires to Philadelphia.⁵³ According to the penal code, prisoners were to be separated so that their treatment conformed to their age, sex, health, mental state and vigor, and criminal history. A total of 370 individual cells stretched through the prison's five pavilions, allowing guards to panoramically monitor prison activity from the central rotunda.⁵⁴

48. Juan Octavio Fernández Pico, "Dame más luz," *El Eco* (Ushuaia), 25 Dec. 1931, p. 7.

49. Ibid.

50. Belascoain Sayós, *El presidio de Ushuaia*, 124.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid., 126.

53. The *panópticos* constructed in Ushuaia, Buenos Aires, and elsewhere around the world were rarely the exact design that Jeremy Bentham had proposed, but they all shared a similar architectural form. For more on Bentham, see Semple, *Bentham's Prison*.

54. Blueprints were submitted to expand the prison into a complete radial structure with eight pavilions, but these additions were not pursued. See "Presidio Nacional de Ushuaia," 1922, Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Intermedio, Ministerio de Obras Públicas de la Nación, exp. 7876-C.

This schematic places Ushuaia as an ideal “discipline-blockade” described by Michel Foucault in his analysis of Jeremy Bentham’s panopticon.⁵⁵ However, the physical layout of this panopticon is inherently placeless, a “generalizable model” that is “a particular institution, closed in upon itself.”⁵⁶ Within the walls of this ideal prison, discipline is exercised with no regard for external factors; the panopticon, it would appear, is hermetically sealed. The penal colony in Ushuaia, on the other hand, was built specifically into the landscape of Tierra del Fuego as a place of southern confinement, and the austral environment was appropriated quite consciously into the disciplinary mechanisms of the prison. As Fernández Pico’s writings on light and darkness stressed, he was pained as much by the prison as he was by the physical geographies outside its walls.

Focusing on these elemental factors in the Ushuaia penal system will add a nuanced spatial specificity to Foucault’s analysis of modern discipline and punishment. Foucault’s work on the parallels between the penitentiary and the self-disciplining society has become commonplace across many fields, and scholars have built upon and also constructively criticized Foucault’s “birth of the prison.”⁵⁷ This scholarship, however, has been so attentive to Foucault’s analysis of society as panopticon that it has taken the panopticon itself for granted. Anthropologist Peter Redfield has done well to bring the structure back into view by contrasting the Devil’s Island penal colony in French Guiana with contemporaneous urban penitentiaries. His goal is to displace the Eurocentric panopticon through an emphasis on the geographic distance between colonies and centers of law, noting that “the penal colony requires location.”⁵⁸ Countering the dominant narrative of a rather clean transition from transport incarceration to penitentiaries, Redfield highlights that penal colonies are many things at once, not merely nonmodern holdovers or anomalies within modern incarceration practices.⁵⁹ Ushuaia was unique here in that it was both a penal

55. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 209. There are two extremes to Foucault’s disciplinary spectrum: the “discipline-blockade,” an enclosed institution like a penitentiary, and the “discipline-mechanism,” a functional exercise of power that creates the disciplinary society.

56. *Ibid.*, 205.

57. Foucault was open about the “material restraints” of his sweeping project; see Foucault, “Questions on Geography.” On Foucault’s theories in a Latin American context, see Aguirre, “Prisons and Prisoners.”

58. Redfield, “Foucault in the Tropics,” 59. See also Redfield, *Space in the Tropics*.

59. Geographers have also unpacked the relationship between law and confinement, especially in island spaces. See Gregory, “Black Flag”; Mountz, “Enforcement Archipelago”;

colony and a panopticon. This seeming paradox suggests that rather than focus on distance alone, we must also emplace the penal colony by exploring its geographic and environmental networks and elements, its carceral ecology, which takes into account the interactive relationship between penitentiary and place.⁶⁰

It is this very entanglement of prison and place to which Fernández Pico pointed in “A Ushuaia,” when, after discussing the torments of the environment’s lighting, he describes “your winds like furnace blasts.”⁶¹ This emphasis on “furnace blasts” (*resoplidos de fragua*) is particularly indicative of Tierra del Fuego. Patagonia is often described as windswept, but this hardly captures the atmospheric dynamics of the far south. This region is surrounded by oceanic climate dynamics, and the influence of eastward-moving cyclones from the polar jet stream coupled with the uninterrupted Southern Hemisphere westerlies results in shifting winds that can converge from multiple angles simultaneously. The southern winds transport the temperatures of Antarctic ice, while northern gales are exacerbated by the steep climatic gradients of the glacier-topped Martial Mountains.⁶² “Furnace blasts” thus highlights not only the strength of these gusts but also the sensation of something being so cold that it feels as hot as the burning heat used to forge metals. A decade after Fernández Pico’s poem, a political prisoner remarked that austral life was most difficult when “the famous southwestern wind blows, tinged with frost, which punishes the flesh like the steel tips of a whip,” burning and scarring one’s skin.⁶³ These forces did not simply erode the Patagonian landscape little by little over geological time; they also eroded the land’s inhabitants physically and mentally, as prisoners were exposed to these conditions as regularized forms of punishment, as elemental torment.⁶⁴

and Dominique Moran’s ongoing project *Carceral Geography* (blog), accessed 15 Oct. 2013, <http://www.carceralgeography.com>. See also historian Clare Anderson’s collaborative project “The Carceral Archipelago: Transnational Circulations in Global Perspective, 1415–1960,” and the edited volume Dikötter and Brown, *Cultures of Confinement*.

60. Such an analysis has been latent in recent works. For an excellent treatment of urban prisons, see Aguirre, *Criminals of Lima*. For a comparison of prison types, see Zinoman, *Colonial Bastille*. On the relationship between European prisoners and colonial subjects, see Bullard, *Exile to Paradise*.

61. Fernández Pico, “A Ushuaia,” 76.

62. See Tuhkanen, “Climate of Tierra del Fuego”; Rebertus et al., “Blowdown History.”

63. Guillot, *Paralelo 55°*, 100.

64. Gabriela Nouzeilles argues that Patagonia’s winds destroy the work of the state and modernity, “making difficult, even preventing, the conversion of space into place.” Nouzeilles, “Iconography of Desolation,” 253–54.

Italian engineer Catello Muratgia, responsible for expanding the scope and facilities of Ushuaia, was conscious of these environmental relationships beyond the prison walls. He noted that these natural forces would take their toll on not only the prisoners, commending the prison staff for weathering the glacial climate of this “inclement latitude.”⁶⁵ Commenting in 1907 on the suggestion of two inspectors that such conditions merited greater compensation, Muratgia acknowledged that fundamental to the prison was its continuity with the harsh nature outside: “The rigor of the climate, the exile that represents life in those parts, the works carried out and the responsibilities performed by the administration of an establishment that can truly be called ‘OPEN DOOR,’ deserves a reward far superior to the budget assigned to its staff.”⁶⁶ The very centrality of this climate to the prison experience meant that concerns such as these were widespread. Prison personnel demanded higher wages to cover the inflated prices of imported foodstuffs and the costs of winter clothing, which they did not normally need to purchase for life in their hometowns.⁶⁷ Beyond a mere argument concerning costs of living, this additional compensation was demanded as an acknowledgment by authorities in Buenos Aires that prison personnel felt that they too lived in exile within this hostile environment.

These complaints point to how Ushuaia’s physical geographies made for a particular prison experience both within and without the prison walls, as prisoners and guards alike emotionally internalized their struggle with the region. Moreover, this “open-door” prison flowed both ways, being not simply internalized emotionally but also interiorized physically, as ice, mold, howling winds, and disease environments literally penetrated and cultivated within the prison’s thick stone walls. These natural elements were regularly incorporated into the disciplinary protocol. Inmates who resisted physical beatings were stripped, thrown outside in snow often piled higher than a meter, and left there naked for an hour at a time. When the prisoner was brought back indoors, he

65. Catello Muratgia, “Presidio y carcel de reincidentes: Tierra del Fuego: Antecedentes,” Buenos Aires, 1907, MFM, Fondo Agrupación Documental Instituciones Presidio (hereafter cited as ADIP), pp. 2–3. This collection of letters and notes on Ushuaia provided some concrete examples to complement his published treatise, Muratgia, *Breve estudio*.

66. Muratgia, “Presidio y carcel,” 28. The correspondence commented on was Inspector Viajero Nieto Moreno to Inspector General de Justicia Doctor Manuel M. Avellaneda, 2 Aug. 1904.

67. Guarda Bosques José Musso to Jefe de la División de Bosques y Yerbales Ingeniero Luis E. Fablet, 12 Feb. 1932, MFM, Fondo Ministerio de Agricultura de la Nación (hereafter cited as MAN), Bosques Explotación Forestal (hereafter cited as BEF) 05.5.

was given an ice-cold bath to wash off the blood and bludgeon smudges that marked his body.⁶⁸ Moreover, prisoners underwent everyday forms of elemental torment, as the benefits of the prison's wood-burning *calefacciones* were illusory given how quickly their heat escaped, creating what more than one journalist argued were frozen graves rather than prison cells. The thin and insufficient clothing provided to inmates exacerbated such conditions, and prisoners who misbehaved were forced to sleep directly on the cold stone floor while the window of their cell was either clasped shut, to deny them what little light and air circulation they received, or left open, to allow the wind, cold, and snow to enter the cell unobstructed.

Indeed, given these elemental factors, escape attempts were a peculiar concern for authorities, as such attempts happened often but almost never succeeded. Ushuaia appeared so isolated and its surrounding environment so formidable that prison personnel believed it impossible for an individual to escape and actually survive. When such attempts stretched on, authorities were notified in nearby Río Grande and Río Gallegos as well as Punta Arenas, Chile, which proved to comprise an effective police network in the archipelago. More often, however, those who attempted to escape, called *fugas*, returned to Ushuaia a few days later, often cold, hungry, and begging for assistance. *Fugas* who could not make their way back to Ushuaia often gave away their locations by lighting fires, or they sought refuge in old sawmills in *el monte* (the surrounding forests) until they were found.⁶⁹

Beyond these escape attempts, *el monte* points to ways in which Ushuaia's carceral experience blurred inside and outside, as the space functioned as a site of production through a deep relationship between the prison and the forestry department. Indeed, residents and outsiders alike observed that Ushuaia depended on prison labor, especially in these forests. Many inmates welcomed these prison jobs, however, as it meant small earnings and a way to pass the time, such as work in *los talleres* (workshops) where prisoners crafted furniture and trinkets for the homes of locals. *El monte*, in this regard, even offered moments of respite, as working outdoors in the short summer months was a brief pleasure, providing prisoners with the freedom to cook their own meals and breathe fresh air. On warmer days prisoners could be seen discarding their striped tops to work in their white undershirts (though these shirts still bore the stamp of their prisoner number), and the most privileged prisoners could stay overnight

68. For a vivid account, see Rié, *Ushuaia*, 69–70.

69. See, for example, correspondence between the prison and the forestry department, 30 June and 2 July 1932, MFM, Fondo MAN, BEF 05.5.

in makeshift camps. An article in the prisoner newspaper *El Eco* even suggested that such work provided prisoners with vistas unseen by locals. The article described a “motif” of Ushuaia: a leaden sky and winds that forced locals to stay indoors, depriving the town of any sign of life beyond chimney smoke. And yet, the newspaper also noted a sun parting the clouds, if only briefly, during which laboring prisoners took in a magnificent landscape of brilliant contrast between the deep blue sky and blankets of white snow on the mountains, a scene that eluded locals locked away in their warm homes.⁷⁰

Such moments were fleeting, however, as the duties of *leñadores* (timber workers) offered few comforts during the long winter. In “A Ushuaia,” Fernández Pico cried, “I too am Ushuaia, I am a poet and I sing to you / In cultivated verses, from the voice of my axe / From the depths of your saddest forest, deserted.”⁷¹ This world immediately outside the prison walls was rarely a space of repose like those forests set aside as national parks in northern Patagonia at the beginning of the twentieth century. More often, *el monte* was like a factory under a carceral evergreen canopy. Prisoners who could not lift and transport logs efficiently were beaten with switches and then forced to stand on skinny stumps with their hands on their heads or outstretched gripping staffs, to be beaten further if they lost their balance or lowered their arms. Under difficult and dangerous work conditions, men were killed by falling timber and by dynamite blasts used while constructing small railways through the forests.⁷² Projects in the fiscal fields extracted upward of 10,000 tons of timber a year, fueling the local economy but also frustrating townspeople, who were often limited to collecting felled timber and deadwood.⁷³ Forestry officials discussed methods for harvesting timber in order to satisfy multiple parties, but they were most interested in having townspeople collect this undesired wood in order to remove fuel for forest fires, the most dangerous and frequent threat to the region.⁷⁴ Leñadores were often responsible for starting such fires (as well as extinguishing them), but so too were the waterlogged wood and rusted equipment that increased technical malfunctions, the sparks from the trains that

70. “Brochazos (motivos de Ushuaia),” *El Eco* (Ushuaia), 15 Mar. 1931, p. 1.

71. Fernández Pico, “A Ushuaia,” 77.

72. There are many such cases, though two of the better documented are of Emilio Devoto, prisoner 460, in 1912, and Zenon Rosales, prisoner 382, in 1941. MFM, Libros Policiales, 1910–1912, pp. 619, 624, and 1940–1943, pp. 314–17.

73. Telegram from Inspector de Bosques Antonio M. Snaider to Inspector General Enrique R. Villanueva, 28 Feb. 1919, MFM, Fondo MAN, BEF 05.5, n. 30.

74. See correspondence between Inspector de Bosques Antonio M. Snaider and the Ministerio de Agricultura, MFM, Fondo MAN, BEF 05.5, fol. 13.

transported prisoners to the felling groves, and persistent yet unpredictable winds, which carried ashes and flames throughout the region.⁷⁵

All of this points to the fact that Ushuaia was not just an open-door prison and yet not quite a company town; it was rather a carceral town that was both isolated from and connected to *el norte*. The Argentine government did whatever necessary to keep the prison operations running, which included installing a branch of the Banco de la Nación Argentina in Ushuaia, which operated at a loss, and importing timber from Chile when local sawmills could not suffice.⁷⁶ In 1922, correspondence between the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice and Public Instruction discussed concerns that the town's public services were under great strain due to a decline in the prisoner population from the previous year.⁷⁷ In addition to work relating to timber, the condemned built the local fire station and the town's roads, playing the roles of workers, masons, blacksmiths, and carpenters. Said more directly, prisoners built a corner of Patagonia, something that statesmen had attempted to accomplish for decades. Instead of through voluntary development, modernization was built on the backs of forced laborers serving varied and often controversial sentences, though these men hardly reaped the benefits of their labor. Police records show that those prisoners who were released typically found passage out of Ushuaia, while land titles reveal that higher-ranking prison personnel and powerful local businessmen settled the region often through the use of inmate labor. To this effect, Belascoain Sayós protested that Ushuaia was a refuge for "jailers and hangmen . . . and unpunished wrongdoers."⁷⁸ For him, the colony's true criminal classes lived outside the prison, as most locals were "ineptos vampiros" who fed on the prison's budget.⁷⁹ While these charges were damning in broad strokes, it is clear that prisoners, many of whom were arrested for critiquing the mechanisms of capital, experienced an increasingly sophisticated incarnation of industrial capitalism: the prison industry.⁸⁰

75. Sites for felling and milling that were open, near streams, and sheltered from wind were highly coveted. See discussions in MFM, Fondo MAN, BEF 05.5, fols. 4.1 (Oct./Nov. 1927), 6.1 (Feb. 1937).

76. Guillot, *Paralelo 55°*, 78–79, 162–72.

77. Correspondence between the ministro de interior and the ministro de justicia e instrucción publica, 20 Nov. 1922, MFM, Caja Molina, pp. 1–3.

78. Belascoain Sayós, *El presidio de Ushuaia*, 124.

79. Ibid.

80. For more on the various formations of prison industries, see Melossi and Pavarini, *Prison and the Factory*.

To meet these demands of industrial capitalism, as national deputy Manuel Ramírez noted upon his inspection of the prison, “every single day is rigorous, and mathematically equal.”⁸¹ The activities of prisoners were guided by two comprehensive, 24-hour-a-day schedules—one for winter and one for summer, in order to accommodate the extreme differences in daylight hours between these seasons. A Morse code soundscape of long and short whistle shrieks guided prisoners’ actions much like the screaming steam whistles that cut through the thunderous droning of modern factories. Ushuaia was not timeless or prehistoric, nor were there many idle days for inmates. Instead, prison operations adhered to the capitalist time of modern industry, as prisoners awoke each morning and received black coffee and two pieces of bread each weighing 200 grams. There was a limited vegetable garden on the prison grounds to provide roughage, while meat rations intended for prisoner consumption were often sequestered by prison personnel.⁸² Inmates generally longed for larger portions and better food, but they were also starved of the mundane aspects of civilian life. Simple joys were denied and certain small luxuries were transformed into tasteless necessities for production. Simón Radowitzky cursed that his mate gourd and condensed milk were confiscated during a cell check; Fernández Pico lamented waking up to another day without tea, “mi buen amigo,” and to a breakfast instead of “endiablado café.”⁸³ Coffee without milk or sugar was like black oil lubricating and fueling the mechanization inherent to prison life, a substance used to wake the living dead for another day of labor.⁸⁴

Tierra del Fuego was thus not a natural space of death, at least not to the degree discussed in the traveler discourse. Civilized life did not die upon contact with Patagonia, as Zeballos claimed. Rather, prisoners argued that a dynamic interaction between prison, place, and protocol robbed them of recognition as human. The region served as a safety valve, a place to dispose of countercultures from the capital considered too dangerous or influential to house in the Buenos Aires National Penitentiary built in 1877, the nation’s first panopticon.⁸⁵

81. Ramírez, *Ushuaia*, 20.

82. MFM, Colección Judicial, Año 1918, exp. 1301, n. 295. Control over meat rations was also used for local price fixing and inflation, furthering prisoner as well as local frustrations.

83. See Radowitzky, *La voz de mi conciencia*; Fernández Pico, “De seis a siete,” 6.

84. Arnold, “De profundis,” 71–74, stresses that prisoners were “muertos que caminan,” trapped between life and death. On the complex relationship between sugar, coffee, and tea consumption and transformations among working classes, see Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*.

85. On the national penitentiary in Buenos Aires, see Caimari, *Apenas un delincuente*, 50–62.

Similarly, prisoners did not experience the monotony inherent to the landscape described by Moreno. Instead, monotony was institutionalized through a combination of prison routines, in which punishment, beyond physical violence, meant isolation, labor routines, and the prohibition of meals or recreation time. Deputy Ramírez argued emphatically that, instead of creating “new men,” the practices in the Ushuaia penal colony made it a “factory” that produced the “sick and alien.”⁸⁶

From Argentine Siberia to Refuge from Modernity

The overthrow of President Hipólito Yrigoyen on September 6, 1930, marked a shift for the nation as well as the Ushuaia penal colony. Under General José F. Uriburu, Argentina entered what is commonly referred to as the *Década Infame*, a time when conservatives and military regimes rigged elections and, to combat the influence of dissenting politicians, intellectuals, and other popular figures, exiled waves of political prisoners to Ushuaia. The well-known political prisoners of the 1930s wrote prolifically during their short tenures in the region, publishing manuscripts upon their return that described for far-flung audiences what one journalist termed “una época de profundo terror” in Tierra del Fuego.⁸⁷ However, this terror was not felt or distributed equally, as many of these political prisoners experienced Ushuaia quite differently than common prisoners. While anarchists and militant workers continued to be exiled, this new group consisted more often of members from the ousted Unión Cívica Radical (UCR) who had designed many of Argentina’s institutions and policies in years prior.

Salvador de Almenara, a member of the 1931 group exiled from Buenos Aires on *El Chaco*, noted that “they were sending us to Ushuaia, and there, our only jailers would be the snows of the Andes, the cold of the moors, and the endless and monotonous sea.”⁸⁸ Indeed, their experience was rooted in exile and an unsettling environment rather than direct punishment, as de Almenara’s fellow prisoner, UCR deputy Néstor Aparicio, recalled: “We lived through a sad winter. The inaction was driving us to despair. The hostility of a mortal climate was making us ill from nostalgia and melancholy. An obsession with the sun, clear skies, golden countrysides tormented us at every hour. At ten o’clock in the morning the sky cleared and by three o’clock in the afternoon it was

86. Ramírez, *Ushuaia*, 21.

87. Rié, *Ushuaia*, 69.

88. Almenara, *Del plata a Ushuaia*, 29.

already night. Rain, snow, frost, wind, solitude, tragic sadness were filling all our sensations.”⁸⁹ Yet while many of these men had been detained in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, Uruguay, in Ushuaia they were rarely kept in the prison, provided instead with modest housing and stipends. They looked solemnly upon common prisoners laboring in the streets and suffering public beatings. When possible, political exiles spoke with these men, learning the intricate details of solitary confinement and food rationing, and even aided them by trafficking letters and remittances back to inmates’ families.⁹⁰ The political prisoners of 1934, arrested during Augustín P. Justo’s presidency, were treated as “pharaohs” by locals, as men such as Ricardo Rojas, rector of the Universidad de Buenos Aires, and Víctor Juan Guillot, prominent intellectual and later a national deputy, were of a social status more akin to that of the explorers and científicos discussed in the dominant historiography of Patagonia than to common prisoners. Once they had signed in with the police register for the day, these political prisoners were free to write, roam, and converse.

And they did. Their writings to statesmen and the general public formed a new and prominent link between the south and north, as these lettered men employed a rhetoric and reasoning from a popular status of power that resonated with disenfranchised groups on the political left by highlighting the practices within the Ushuaia penal colony that contradicted the Argentine penal code. Since the turn of the twentieth century, Argentina had been one of the world centers for criminology and prison reform, in dialogue with and contributing to theories and techniques in Europe and the United States.⁹¹ Popular publications even discussed the theories behind the “modern prison,” theories that called for “all the conditions of a true hospital,” such as sanitary services and adequate sleeping arrangements to prevent the transmission of diseases.⁹² Deputy Ramírez, however, claimed that the penal colony in Ushuaia was a “Babel of offenses” dominated by Machiavellian power dynamics that created “antisocial” individuals less prepared for society than when they were removed from it.⁹³ Overcrowding, Ramírez claimed, was curbing individualized rehabilitation, while lack of female contact coupled with inadequate sleeping facilities encouraged sexual promiscuity, thus furthering antisocial behavior.

89. Aparicio, *Los prisioneros*, 52.

90. *Ibid.*, 56.

91. Rodríguez, *Civilizing Argentina*.

92. “Las cárceles modernas,” *Caras y Caretas* (Buenos Aires), 10 Aug. 1907.

93. Ramírez, *Ushuaia*, 23–29.

Administrative prison violence was also increasing. To buttress his report on torture in the prison, Ramírez drew on Ushuaia infirmary doctor Guillermo Kelly, who had confessed to a colleague that “in the second penal establishment of this progressive republic [Ushuaia], bones have been broken, testicles have been twisted, prisoners have been punished with dreadful wire bludgeons, preferably on their backs, to turn them ill with TB and a thousand brutalities more.”⁹⁴ Torture and disease, he insisted, went together, as undressed wounds and internal injuries worsened into chronic ailments or even death. Moreover, as journalist Anibal del Rié noted, “There is nothing more than leaden clouds in the Ushuaia sky,” which thus denied tuberculosis victims the sunlight needed to help cure them.⁹⁵ In addition to the “white plague” and other pulmonary ailments like pneumonia and bacillus strains, trachoma, “el terror negro,” was rampant in the prison, and despite isolation and quarantine, contagion was frequent.⁹⁶ These chronic diseases formed part of the microecology of the prison, forged through a symbiotic relationship of elemental and physical punishment, food quality and rationing, and general living conditions. What is more, prisoners carried respiratory diseases, blindness, and other severe ailments with them well beyond their imprisonment, often dying from these diseases years after their release—another way in which practices, experiences, and consequences could not be confined within the prison walls. Ramírez summed up his report by declaring, “The location of the Ushuaia prison—the only prison camp in the world at this global latitude—is in open conflict with Article 53 of the constitution. The climate and isolation of the region envelops a physical torture and moral anguish, which doubles the punishment of the prisoners and intensifies the situation in which they have no possibility of the social reeducation pursued through their sentencing.”⁹⁷

Argentine statesmen had built the Ushuaia penal colony in what reporters called *el último rincón* (the furthest corner) of the nation, allowing a warden to become a modern-day caudillo unwilling to relinquish his power. Del Rié and Ramírez concurred that the region’s isolation meant nothing less than impunity for prison officials, while guards and others who were opposed to or could

94. Ibid., 65. The letter was written in September 1932 and addressed to Doctor Frank J. Solar.

95. Rié, *Ushuaia*, 28.

96. Ibid.

97. Ramírez, *Ushuaia*, 55. Article 53, Ramírez noted, states that “prisons should be clean and sanitary, for the security and not for the punishment of the prisoners detained within them.”

simply no longer stand their own role in such practices resigned.⁹⁸ National deputy governor Juan María Gómez put increasing pressure on prison director Adolfo Cernadas and Warden Carlos Faggioli in the early 1930s to cooperate with police and government investigations into the prison. In response, Cernadas reduced the electrical power transmitted to the governor's home, for the city's electricity, like nearly everything else in Ushuaia, was still produced by the prison.⁹⁹

The combination of these power dynamics, isolation, and environmental forces evoked, as Belascoain Sayós noted, a "criollo Siberia." Historian Lila Caimari's cogent and sweeping history of the Argentine prison system provides an overview of Ushuaia and a brief account of the 1930s political prisoners, proffering much evidence for this label.¹⁰⁰ Throughout these political prisoners' manuscripts are numerous remarks on the dark, windy, frigid climate of Ushuaia, located in what Víctor Guillot simply called "la torva latitud" (the grim latitude).¹⁰¹ However, also present in Guillot's account is an air of optimism, even fondness, which is largely absent from the writings of common prisoners, a point that has been overlooked by scholars. In his poem "El Primer Argentino," Guillot describes a scene in which he and other political exiles curse the climate while sitting around a warm stove that is full and glowing: "As the flavorful mate circulated / . . . / so did the theme of the conversation / from somber to lighthearted / in the fraternal circle."¹⁰² These elements of relative freedom coupled with mundane delicacies (a burning stove, mate, unmonitored conversation) were rarely accorded to common prisoners. Such vignettes are prominent throughout Guillot's memoir, as for these privileged political prisoners Ushuaia was not coupled with a disciplinary regime. Rather, the "grim latitude" could be "warmed by friendship," heated homes, and satisfying meals.¹⁰³ Beyond these social elements, earlier in the work Guillot recounts a conversation with a local during which they agree that the island of Tierra del Fuego was not as extreme to the south as Sweden and Norway were to the

98. Vairo, *El presidio de Ushuaia*, 117–18.

99. See Aparicio, *Los prisioneros*, 59–61.

100. Caimari, *Apenas un delincuente*, 71, 245.

101. Guillot, *Paralelo 55°*, 121.

102. Ibid. El Primer Argentino was opened by prominent local Luis Fique. The *almacen* was one of the first commercial establishments in Ushuaia, now defunct. Andrés Ferreira, to whom the poem is dedicated, rented the building with three other exiles, and the small coastal lodge became a central meeting place for Guillot and others.

103. Ibid., 123.

north, and that thus the climate was not as unbearable as people typically claim.¹⁰⁴

Ricardo Rojas was even more emphatic in simultaneously highlighting the ills of the prison while identifying Ushuaia as a promising region. Also looking toward Europe, he constructed a comparative analysis to convince the Argentine government and public that Tierra del Fuego was capable of producing a prosperous society of Euro-Argentine constitution. Like Guillot, Rojas argued that while Tierra del Fuego's relation to the South Pole appeared similar to that of Norway to the North Pole, the former's seemingly extreme latitudinal position actually resembled more closely the milder Denmark. He highlighted the fact that the region was not as frigid as people had claimed, especially compared to Russia, where temperatures were consistently much lower. What made Tierra del Fuego so extreme, Rojas asserted, was its unstable atmosphere and the influence of the polar current's cold, unrelenting winds. Nevertheless, he argued that such a climate was not a problem in itself, as a similar atmospheric dynamic existed in Scotland in relation to the North Sea. There, he noted, the "human plant grows with physical and mental vigor."¹⁰⁵ Said another way, Rojas claimed that despite Tierra del Fuego's environmental and climatic obstacles, an "industrious and healthy society" could prosper in the far south as it did in the far north in countries such as Sweden, Canada, and Scotland.¹⁰⁶

Yet Rojas went even further, claiming that Tierra del Fuego's rural setting and climate offered salvation for those suffering the woes of modernity. Discussions of tuberculosis retreats circulated in Argentine publications at the time, referencing the creation of villages in France and Switzerland, where pure air allowed ultraviolet rays to reach one's skin unimpeded, with reflections from the winter snow increasing such beneficial exposure.¹⁰⁷ Though Rojas does not explicitly argue for the creation of such a city in Tierra del Fuego, he claimed that the few existing cases of tuberculosis in the region were products of social vices, not climate or geography. The natives of the island who did not drink or smoke avoided the pains of pulmonary illnesses, and the European offspring of missionaries raised on the island had lived healthily and happily into their

104. Ibid., 65–66, 100–101.

105. Rojas, *Archipiélago*, 167.

106. Ibid. Rojas even noted Darwin's claim that "inhospitable as this climate appears to our feelings, evergreen trees flourish luxuriantly under it." Darwin, *Voyage of the Beagle*, 216.

107. See "Ciudades para tuberculosos," *Caras y Caretas* (Buenos Aires), 7 Jan. 1933. For other contemporary imaginings of hygienic spaces, see Armus, *Ailing City*, 307–44.

seventies.¹⁰⁸ “The pure air” in southern Patagonia, Rojas claimed, was healthier than that of Buenos Aires, providing a space to cure the sick who lived in “antihygienic conditions” in the packed housing of the nation’s capital, such that the region could be beneficial for *blancos* once they “acclimatized.”¹⁰⁹ By concluding, “The strongest races are formed in arctic regions,” Rojas, rather than referencing Russia to damn Tierra del Fuego, looked to northern Europe to validate Ushuaia’s potential, displaying Antarctic South America as a mirror image of (Western) Arctic Europe.¹¹⁰

Clearly, Rojas’s and Guillot’s discussions of the region’s positive geographical characteristics contradict or, at the very least, approach Ushuaia from a different angle than the writings of most common prisoners confined in the penitentiary. These disparities are telling. Rojas was exiled from January to May 1934, Guillot from January to June: less than half a year. These relatively short tenures during the summer and the early winter months more closely resembled the timeline of an explorer of Patagonia than a prisoner of Tierra del Fuego, and, indeed, their rhetoric reprises a lexicon and representation of the region employed by early nationalist travelers. This, of course, should in no way dismiss these men’s experiences of exile, but we cannot ignore these timelines, nor can we ignore the thousands of pesos spent each month by the government to provide these political prisoners with housing and food.¹¹¹ De Almenara, despite cursing Ushuaia before the departure of *El Chaco*, evoked the imagination of Jules Verne as the voyage passed through Bahía Bustamante in northern Patagonia, and upon entering the Beagle Channel, he likewise summoned with excitement James Weddell and Robert FitzRoy, comparing his modern steamship to their vessels of wood and sails.¹¹² While he poignantly critiqued the prison, Guillot found “friendship” with his fellow exiles, mainly professionals such as lawyers and doctors, during their “odyssey.”¹¹³ Rojas argued that his book rectified Darwin’s labeling of Tierra del Fuego as “la tierra maldita,” a term that had for over half a century “justified the creation of

108. This claim is troubling, as by the 1930s indigenous peoples on the north end of the island were suffering tuberculosis epidemics. See Casali, Fugassa, and Guichón, “Aproximación epidemiológica.”

109. Rojas, *Archipiélago*, 168. For similar contemporaneous claims of a salubrious northern Patagonia, see Bohoslavsky and Liscia, “La profilaxis del viento.”

110. Rojas, *Archipiélago*, 169.

111. See “Gastos por Alimentos,” 1934, MFM, ADIP, n. 247.

112. Almenara, *Del plata a Ushuaia*, 78–79, 122–23.

113. Guillot, *Paralelo 55°*, 376.

latifundias and prisons" there rather than the fostering of civilization.¹¹⁴ Here, political exiles' protests were against the manufactured prison rather than Ushuaia as a natural prison. Their geographical imaginations shifted after experiencing the region firsthand, engaging at times directly with travel narratives. In the end, they saw potential as well as positive correlations between southern Patagonia and the northern reaches of Western Europe, breathing new life into what Andermann called "the emergence of national being from a space of death."

Reprise

Despite mounting claims of human rights violations, through the mid-1940s those who opposed the political powers of the Argentine state faced exile to Ushuaia.¹¹⁵ It was not until March 21, 1947, that President Juan D. Perón signed a decree to close the penal colony there. Just days later, newspapers in Buenos Aires discussed how the closing of the prison opened land for civil projects and how private enterprise was moving in on the timber fields.¹¹⁶ A reporter for *La Prensa* argued that Argentines for too long had misconceived the region as inhospitable and of "poor quality" when in reality it was rich with oil, fish, timber, and other industries that should now be proudly exploited.¹¹⁷ The popular discourse on Ushuaia was shifting once again. This ebb and flow between negative space and positive place has overshadowed the ways in which people live and experience particular subregions in Patagonia perennially. While characteristics from both sides of this polarized discourse can hold true, particular and personal representations and understandings of Patagonia disrupt such totalizing narratives. The penal colony in Ushuaia is just one of many ways to access these alternative understandings, and therefore it can be productive to think of Patagonia in the plural as many Patagonias and, in the case of this article, many Ushuaias.

114. Rojas, *Archipiélago*, 169, 182.

115. See the *noticia* of the Partido Comunista, "Los líderes antifascistas codovilla y real en peligro de ser confinados en Ushuaia," Buenos Aires, 26 June 1943, Centro de Documentación e Investigación de la Cultura de Izquierdas en Argentina, Buenos Aires, SHB/CPA CI/11-2.

116. "Las tierras fueguinas ganadas para el trabajo," *La Razón* (Buenos Aires), 23 Mar. 1947, p. 5; "Ha sido suprimida por el gobierno la cárcel de Ushuaia," *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), 23 Mar. 1947, p. 6.

117. "Concepto equivocado sobre la Patagonia," *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), 26 Mar. 1947, p. 10.

With the closing of the prison, Argentine administrations pursued various means of incorporating the region into Argentine national territory, such as the Parque Nacional Tierra del Fuego, created in 1960 just a few miles outside Ushuaia. The same geography lamented by common prisoners and reappraised by later political prisoners was set aside for conservation to be enjoyed by Argentine citizens and foreign tourists as an “extraordinarily spectacular” space of beauty.¹¹⁸ In recent decades, natural resource exploration, adventure tourism, cruises to Antarctica, and special tax laws have also helped to transform Ushuaia into a city with tens of thousands of residents engaged in a large and complex global economy. In fact, by 1996, French intellectual Jean Baudrillard cringed at Ushuaia’s “chaotic, incoherent cowboy-film modernity,” which was congested with petrol, computers, and the internationally recognized “duty-free.” He argued that “what you discover here is not a new, original world, but the relentless mix of a wild, elemental form and an equally relentlessly destructive grip exerted by the human race.”¹¹⁹

Ushuaia is, to Baudrillard’s chagrin, like so many cities today located in what one book series has termed “landscapes of the imagination,” both mythic and mundane.¹²⁰ However, the contemporary globalized city overshadows the older linkages between the prison and the cosmopolitan population that built Ushuaia and transformed its surrounding forests.¹²¹ To extend Baudrillard’s claim, the “destructive grip exerted by the human race” is not new to Patagonia or Ushuaia, nor was it entirely new when the prison was constructed. As the cast of characters cited by Furlong, with which I opened this essay, suggests, Tierra del Fuego has a longer history of international and indigenous footprints. However, human intervention has been relegated to the shadows by traveler narratives fixated on a geographical imagination of boundless, untamed wilderness. After all, well before Baudrillard, political prisoners in the 1930s were surprised by the differences between literature on southern Patagonia and their own experiences in the region. By turning to prisoner narratives, therefore, we see that what made the Ushuaia penal colony unique was not solely the

118. Argentina. Dirección General de Parques Nacionales, *Parques nacionales argentinos*, 53. Tourists today can even ride the old prisoner train from Ushuaia to the national park.

119. Baudrillard, “Tierra del Fuego,” 128–29.

120. The Oxford University Press series *Landscapes of the Imagination* includes Moss, *Patagonia*. Other titles range from *Siberia* to the *Sahara*.

121. Ushuaia’s population was rarely more than one-third Argentine, with other nationalities ranging from Spanish and Chilean to Yugoslav and German. On the continued need to “argentinizar” the region, see, for example, Juan José de Soiza Reilly, “Nadie se acuerda de los pueblos del sur,” *Caras y Caretas* (Buenos Aires), 6 May 1933.

geography of Tierra del Fuego, which Furlong and others described as a natural prison. Rather, it was unique because the human agencies that Furlong claimed would free Ushuaia from its own imprisonment constituted the very methods and routines that transformed the region into a carceral ecology. Such a history should not be lost to a boundless Patagonia.

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Book Reviews

General and Sources

Worldly Philosopher: The Odyssey of Albert O. Hirschman. By JEREMY ADELMAN.
Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013. Photographs. Notes. Bibliography.
Index. xv, 740 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.

Situating the German-born economist Albert O. Hirschman has never been easy. He made significant—in some cases, exceptional—scholarly contributions in a half-dozen fields ranging from development economics to international relations and from political theory to social science methodology and statistics. He did important applied work in the field, particularly in Latin America, and labored hard to build institutions and networks supportive of democratic development in both Latin America and other parts of the world. He lived a long, amazingly busy, and crowded life, which ended not with a bang but a whimper and, alas, with more than a touch of professional disappointment. We have long known a good deal about aspects, episodes, and periods of Hirschman's life, but no one had ever connected the dots, much less made sense of their patterning. With the publication of Jeremy Adelman's monumental biography, *Worldly Philosopher: The Odyssey of Albert O. Hirschman*, we are able to see the man more or less complete—and thus to take his full measure—really for the first time. Because it is so difficult in a short review to do justice to either Hirschman's life or Adelman's account of it, this essay is intended as a précis of a more complete companion assessment on the *HAHR* website (<http://www.hahr-online.org>), part of a larger forum on Hirschman's legacy for the study of Latin American history.

Undertaking even a bare-bones summary of the highlights of Hirschman's life is a formidable task. Otto Albert Hirschmann (he later changed his name slightly) was born in Berlin in 1915. His parents, prosperous acculturated Jews, provided Hirschman with a fine classical education. The Nazi seizure of power in the spring of 1933 led Hirschman—a precocious student who had already developed potentially dangerous bona fides on the political left in Berlin—to flee Germany for Paris. Between April 1933, when he arrived in Paris, and January 1941, when he arrived in the United States as a stateless émigré, Hirschman lived a life worthy of two or three. To hit the highlights, he engaged in anti-Nazi political activity in France, took an undergraduate degree at a business school in Paris, spent some time at the London School of Economics on a fellowship, volunteered

on the side of the Republican forces in Spain during the civil war, worked as a demographer at the University of Trieste—where he also earned a *laurea* (equivalent to a PhD) in economics—served briefly in the French army after the German invasion of the country, joined the resistance, wherein he played an important role in helping to get refugees (some of them extremely famous) out of France—all the while managing somehow to maintain a most active intellectual *and* social life in both France and Italy!

Things didn't so much slow down for Hirschman as change direction, focus, and emphases in the decades thereafter, at least until the time of his official retirement from the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey, in 1985, at the age of 70. During this period too his activities were legion. He served a stint in the US Army during World War II, held several relatively high-level governmental posts during the postwar period, and spent time teaching at Yale, Columbia, and Harvard before joining the Institute for Advanced Study on a permanent basis in 1974. However, his most important work and lasting contributions during this period (and really into the early 1990s) were made either in the field in Latin America or while squirreled away in his study writing. Everything else after 1940 was either prelude to, interruption of, or (like teaching) impediment to the important work at hand: applied development economics and cross-disciplinary scholarship coursing broadly through the social sciences and humanities.

Many readers of this journal are familiar with Hirschman's field studies in development in Latin America—mainly in Colombia—but fewer are probably aware of why the economist found himself, literally and figuratively, in Latin America in the period between 1952 and 1956. In one of the most interesting sections of *Worldly Philosopher*, Adelman documents how Hirschman's early contacts and associates on the political left, both in Europe and America, made him vulnerable to suspicions among some in governmental circles that he was, if not a fellow traveler, nonetheless a bit too progressive for the times. Although there was little truth to such suspicions—Hirschman had long since lost his early sympathies for hard-left positions—his career in both the US Army during World War II and in government service in the years thereafter was held back because of unsubstantiated rumors about his loyalties. Frustrated by his inability to rise into positions of interest and/or major responsibility, Hirschman, to our everlasting good fortune, opted in 1952 to leave government service—and, indeed, the United States—to take up a position with the World Bank as a development adviser to the Colombian government. The rest is history, as it were.

The applied work that Hirschman conducted in Colombia in the mid-1950s allowed him at once to test and refine his economic assumptions and methods and to begin to generate contributions to what might be called middle-range economic theory. The scholarship that eventually grew out of such work began with (and was almost always based upon) close empirical observation of the economic, social, and political behavior of individuals and/or groups of one kind or another—including state actors—in situ. Sometimes his findings pertained to small-ball matters such as electricity rates, technological choice, mechanisms for encouraging small-scale entrepreneurship, or the

promotion of research and development. At other times, he drew from his bottom-up experiences in the field, as well as the accumulation and concatenation of what he called *petites idées*, to make broader points about development.

He did this most notably, of course, in his celebrated book *The Strategy of Economic Development* (1958), in which he challenged then-regnant balanced growth models, offering up instead an alternative “unbalanced” approach derived largely from his experiences in Colombia. According to Hirschman, less developed countries (LDCs) often had far too many dire needs for a balanced growth approach to work without breaking the bank. However counterintuitive, it is, in fact, imbalances—imbalances induced by differential investment in various sectors of the economy of an LDC—that are often most likely to spark broader growth as other economic sectors strive to catch up to those growing fastest because of disequilibrium-creating strategic investment preferences. In many cases, then, imbalances should be sought out rather than feared, much less stamped out.

Although Hirschman’s book won widespread praise, his position regarding the unbalanced approach is often misunderstood. He never believed the approach to be universally applicable or transhistorical, and he later criticized those that did. Indeed, despite his myriad contributions to the field of economic development, he later lost faith in development economics as a field and voiced his deep concerns in print. Again, though, he never repudiated, much less abandoned, the field, as he is sometimes alleged to have done. The positions he took when writing on development—like the positions he typically took on other economic, political, and social issues—were qualified, contingent, targeted, temporally and spatially specified, not meant to withstand or transcend time and space.

The Strategy of Economic Development was actually Hirschman’s second book (his 1945 study *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade* failed to gain much traction until the 1970s, with the rise of international political economy), but its favorable reception and broad audience presaged things to come. Over the next four decades, particularly during the long 1970s, Hirschman was to publish dozens of influential articles and essays (many on Latin America) as well as a number of estimable books, including three transformative, category-defying works: *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States* (1970), *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph* (1977), and *The Rhetoric of Reaction: Perversity, Futility, Jeopardy* (1991).

During the 1970s and 1980s he kept busy as well, promoting liberal reform in Latin America not only through his writing but also through his support for scholars and institutions favorably disposed to the same. Indeed, his use of his powerful perch at the Institute for Advanced Study to effect this end was to become one of his most lasting legacies. In *Worldly Philosopher*, Jeremy Adelman offers a brilliant—and brilliantly detailed—portrait of Hirschman, making a convincing case for his place among the giants of twentieth-century social science. After reading Adelman’s biography, one is hard pressed to come up with a social scientist who led a richer, fuller, or more meaningful life.

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The Paraguay Reader: History, Culture, Politics. Edited by PETER LAMBERT and ANDREW NICKSON. The Latin America Readers. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013. Photographs. Plates. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliographies. Index. xii, 475 pp. Paper, \$27.95.

Augusto Roa Bastos once described his native Paraguay as “una isla rodeada de tierra” (an island surrounded by earth). Isolated because of its landlocked location in the heart of South America, inward-looking because of its historical development vis-à-vis neighbors Argentina and Brazil, Paraguay has been plagued by opacity. In *The Paraguay Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, editors Peter Lambert and Andrew Nickson challenge this by tracing the making of Paraguay as understood through a few key themes and legacies. The reader gathers a patchwork of texts and images, primary and secondary sources from Paraguayan elites and organic intellectuals, national politicians and foreign visitors, local scholars and North American academics, to render the movement from colony to country and the forging of a Paraguayan national identity.

The editors have provocatively chosen to play down two of the most familiar set pieces in Paraguayan historiography—the War of the Triple Alliance (1865–1870) and the ongoing prominence of agrarian land-use issues. They instead privilege a longer history of the intertwined formation of the Paraguayan state and nation, emphasizing the twentieth century. The first three of the seven chapters bring us from precolonial beginnings to the early twentieth century. Chapter 1, “The Birth of Paraguay,” uses ethnography and myth to examine pre-Spanish indigenous practices and narratives before focusing on contact, conflict, and colony. Present-day Paraguayan idiosyncrasies—the diglossic persistence of the Guaraní language among the majority mestizo population, the isolation from metropolises—are situated with their early colonial antecedents. Two highlighted tensions are the conflicts between Jesuit-organized Guaraní missions and Spanish adventurers who intermarried into Guaraní polygynous kinship structures, and the democratic revolt of the *comuneros*.

“The Nationalist Experiment” (chapter 2) tracks the first three leaders of newly independent Paraguay, laying bare an unresolved question of legacy: whether they were heroes who defended the nation or egotistical (and perhaps sociopathic) tyrants. The trajectory—beginning with the staunch isolationism of José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia (1814–1840) and culminating in the country’s descent into the devastating War of the Triple Alliance under Francisco Solano López (1862–1870)—traces failed attempts to evade domination by Paraguay’s neighbors. Chapter 3, “A Slow Recovery,” brings us into the twentieth century with questions of the material and psychosocial aftermath of the war, wherein nine out of ten Paraguayan males lost their lives and one-third of the national territory was ceded to Argentina and Brazil. The refashioned economic landscape included the subordination of agriculture to Argentine and Brazilian financial interests (starting with *yerba mate*) and the immigration of Mennonites (and others) to work the underpopulated hinterlands. Within Paraguay, the trauma unleashed a national conversation on “the Paraguayan character” (p. 172).

Paraguayan politics in the twentieth century, the focus of the next three chapters, revolved around the tension between democracy and military authoritarianism. "From the Chaco War to the Civil War" (chapter 4) charts the decades of internal and external strife, beginning with the Chaco War with Bolivia (1932–1935) and the ensuing bloody power struggles between liberal and conservative elements that engulfed Paraguay. One important contribution is to highlight the Febrerista Revolution (1936), an autochthonous socialist movement independent of both Moscow and Beijing. The ascendancy of General Alfredo Stroessner, the subject of "Dictatorship and Resistance" (chapter 5), halted the contest for the presidency and the rapid transition (sometimes lasting only weeks) between executives. Stroessner's three-decade reign (1954–1989) forged a stable (and monadic) state out of the Colorado Party and the military, anchored by brutal repression of any opposition (indigenous communities, students, the Left, labor, Catholic agrarian leagues). The Colorado Party-led coup that overthrew Stroessner in 1989 initiated a democratic transition that has lasted into the present, as depicted in the aptly titled chapter "A Transition in Search of Democracy" (chapter 6). In spite of a new constitution and liberalized politics, the Colorado Party-dominated state faced challenges from within and without, notably the political aspirations of Lino Oviedo, whose failed coup attempt led to days of rioting in 1999 even as foreign-controlled soy agribusiness took over the national territory.

To close, the reader returns to the question of identity and, rather than giving a definitive answer, locates it in dialogic interstices: between the aesthetics of the national anthem and icons of the national cuisine, the public prominence of history and truth-telling fiction, vulnerable memoir and elegies to soccer. The epilogue returns to the fragility of democracy with the surprising 2008 election of leftist former bishop Fernando Lugo, who ended one-party rule and deepened participatory government, an experiment prematurely cut short by his 2012 impeachment on trumped-up charges.

At its best, *The Paraguay Reader* puts oppositional texts next to each other, not resolving the cacophony of voices but instead allowing the tensions to stand. As such, the compilation serves as an introductory overview for historians, regionalists, and social scientists; but, as the first English-language text of its kind, *The Paraguay Reader* will also be an important text for Paraguayanists. Like all assemblages, the edited volume reflects choices to include and to omit. It thus initiates an urgent debate on precisely what counts as indispensable to the scholarship of Paraguay, one of South America's least researched nations.

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DOI 10.1215/00182168-2641316

Writing Mexican History. By ERIC VAN YOUNG. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 338 pp. Paper, \$27.95.

Eric Van Young is a major historian of colonial Mexico, now at the point in his distinguished career when a "greatest hits collection" (as one of the blurb writers calls this

book) becomes *de rigueur*. Consisting of seven substantial chapters, including a particularly good one on the neglected question of regionalism, the book covers some 30 years of creative scholarship and charts both Van Young's intellectual trajectory and that of Mexican / Latin American historiography, the two sharing, he plausibly argues, a common trend away from big economic and social ("structuralist") analysis and toward more individual and elusive cultural themes—a shift, as he puts it, from "materiality" to "interiority" (pp. 2, 10). Thus, economic history and major fields like hacienda studies have atrophied (at least in "Anglophone" scholarship, which pretty much means in the United States; in Mexico, Van Young correctly comments, economic history is flourishing [pp. 91–101]), while Van Young himself has moved from his early, still valuable work on haciendas and markets in colonial Guadalajara via his monumental study of popular insurgency after 1810 to his current biography of Lucas Alamán. His personal trajectory is helpfully described in terms of what he has found interesting, but it is less clear why a generation of US (but not Mexican) historians have trodden a similar path. So while the trends are clearly described—even usefully calibrated, on the basis of *HAHR*'s content—the causality would repay further analysis. Such analysis might, for example, address US identity politics: Van Young regularly credits external factors, such as the Vietnam War, with influencing the earlier commitment to peasant studies (pp. 50, 72, 111, 149), but the external drivers of the cultural turn remain unexplored.

Interiority, he readily admits, is an elusive goal, even in the case of an erudite intellectual like Alamán (pp. 2, 4), and when it comes to illiterate Indian rebels arraigned before colonial courts (chapter 6), the problems are immense, the more so if interiority includes the "unconscious mental realm" (p. 15). Yet to his credit, Van Young does not lapse into woolly fictionalizing: he is rightly critical of Simon Schama for blurring the boundaries (pp. 201–2), as he is of historians who blithely engage in "ethnographic upstreaming" (that is, inferring the subaltern past from the present [pp. 235, 257]) or who imaginatively generalize on the basis of exiguous samples (pp. 257–58). Though warmly sympathetic to cultural history, Van Young does not wallow in the "swamp of postmodernism" (p. 86); he believes in evidence and "external reality" (p. 87), and he even has a good word for positivism—perhaps because, unlike many who use the p-word as a mindless insult, he actually knows what it means (p. 259). He is also intelligently critical of "hyperagentialism" (granting subalterns a commanding role that they lacked) and of the crude functionalism that lurks beneath some treatments of subaltern behavior (pp. 214, 242, 244, 250). Often, therefore, he assumes a judicious stance somewhere between the old structuralism and the new culturalism, and his comments are both safe and sensible: eclecticism is preferable to dogma (p. 14); historians are—rightly—pursuing "multiple tracks" of research (p. 86); and, when it comes to the question of whether economistic rational-actor models are useful, the answer is, "for certain purposes yes, for others no" (p. 262). He also has interesting and useful things to say about what we might call middle-range historical hypotheses or periodizations: the validity of

the “middle period” (1750–1850, here also called “Brading’s Century” [pp. 94, 155, 162]), or the marked—but mistaken—tendency of historians to view independence-period politics as a wholly autonomous realm (p. 140). All this is bolstered by some monster footnotes (after all, it’s footnotes that separate fact from fiction [p. 228]) and a mammoth 48-page bibliography. Furthermore, it is clear that the bibliography is, as Edward Gibbon once noted of the library (and the harem) of Gordian II, “designed for use rather than ostentation”: Van Young has read and reflected on all this stuff. As such, the book will be an invaluable guide for graduate students, even if they may find some of the text hard going and may need a dictionary to hand.

Judicious in most of his opinions, Van Young is also kind to a fault with the numerous historians he cites. Only a handful—Benedict Anderson included, and rightly so (p. 150)—get short shrift. Most receive collegial pats on the back: “fine” is a favorite plaudit (I counted 15), and we also get “excellent,” “unsurpassed,” “masterful,” “penetrating,” “elegant,” “brilliant,” “illuminating,” “magnificent,” “monumental,” “very adept,” “lovely” (!), and “intellectually stunning.” Enrique Florescano, a man of many talents, is “durable, ubiquitous, productive, and astute” (p. 131). Matthew Restall is “impressive” (p. 122), Walter Mignolo “very impressive” (p. 119). Even when Van Young launches a critical shaft, he is quickly on the scene to apply first aid: Inga Clendinnen’s study of Aztec society is based on “exceedingly shaky extrapolations,” but it is also “lyrical and riveting” (p. 235). While I would not call for blood on the carpet, I think that the text might have benefited from a bit more stiletto and a bit less schmaltz.

My final query is more substantial, but, since it relates to a well-worn debate, it can be briefly dealt with. Though Van Young generally steers a middle course between structuralism and postmodernism, he is a devoted convert to cultural history (alias interiority), which leads to some questionable assertions, chiefly regarding the centrality of culture—a concept that, frequently but not always consistently defined (pp. 13, 88, 226, 237, 246–47, 252), is at times reified (“culture must be in many places where we cannot see it” [p. 243]), homogenized (“an event . . . cannot . . . stand in for an entire culture” [p. 243]), and, above all, converted into a first cause, a “substrate” underlying everything else (pp. 14, 148, 243, 249, 256). The old materialist/structuralist, base/superstructure model, it seems, has been rebuilt, with culture supplying the new foundations. Of course, if culture simply denotes “meaning,” it is—rather like Enrique Florescano—ubiquitous (pp. 14, 237, 252); but in that case, politics and economics (and all that separates *Homo sapiens* from animals) becomes cultural and conventional historiographical distinctions—economic, political, cultural—become, in their turn, meaningless.

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Debates republicanos en Chile: Siglo XIX. Vol. 1. Edited by ANA MARÍA STUVEN and GABRIEL CID. Colección Archivos. Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales, 2012. Notes. Bibliographies. 627 pp. Paper, \$34.00.

In recent years, a dedicated group of Chilean historians has sought to bring greater international visibility and recognition to Chilean history, especially the history of the early republic. Ana María Stiven and Gabriel Cid, the editors of this book, are key members of that group. Stiven and Cid share a base of operations in the Programa de Historia de las Ideas Políticas en Chile, which is part of the Department of Social Sciences and History at the Universidad Diego Portales in Santiago. The publication of *Debates republicanos en Chile* should be seen as part of a larger effort by Stiven, Cid, and other Chilean historians to place their country's experience more prominently within the larger regional history of Latin America and the Atlantic world.

Debates republicanos is a hybrid book, part interpretive essay and part primary source reader. It contains an introduction by Stiven and five chapters based on the following concepts: sovereignty, representation, republic, federalism, and order. Each chapter contains a lengthy introductory essay, a suggested bibliography, and a collection of excerpted primary sources. This is only the first volume of a work that, as the title suggests, will cover the entire nineteenth century. As such, this volume is highly concentrated in the 1810s and 1820s, the period of political independence and immediately thereafter. Much of the thinking that Stiven and Cid put into this volume results undoubtedly from their extensive publication efforts during the commemoration of Chile's bicentennial in 2010.

Stiven and Cid approach their subject from the perspective of the history of ideas, especially political ideas. One of the main influences on this perspective is the group Iberconceptos, a transatlantic network of scholars who work on the history of political ideas in the Spanish-speaking Atlantic world (Stiven is coordinator of its Religion and Politics Group). Deeper influences come from the Cambridge School of intellectual history, famous for its historical contextualization of political ideas and theory, and La République des Idées (The Republic of Ideas), a scholarly working group founded by French political historian Pierre Rosanvallon.

This history of ideas approach allows the editors to delve deeply into a wide range of ideas. The way they have organized the book allows the reader to develop familiarity with some of the individual writers and politicians of Chilean independence, such as the Enlightenment priest Camilo Henríquez, the Guatemalan-born Chilean patriot Antonio José de Irisarri, and the fervent federalist José Miguel Infante. Think of Simon Collier's classic *Ideas and Politics of Chilean Independence, 1808–1833* (1967), but a version that allows Chilean writers and statesmen to communicate with you directly for long stretches. The high quality of the political thought revealed in these chapters confirms the editors' assumption that the history of republican political thought in Chile is comparable to that of Mexico or Argentina, not to mention France, Spain, or the United States.

The approach also allows Stuenkel and Cid to identify a number of key moments in Chile's independence struggle and its aftermath. Such moments occurred when political debates took on a definitive feature, shifted points of emphasis, or became emblematic of a larger trend in transatlantic political discourse. One of the moments that stood out to me came during the meeting of the Cádiz Cortes (1810–1814), at which time Henríquez, Irigarri, and others in Chile published detailed arguments in favor of greater American representation in that body, demonstrating that they were already working out plans for electoral representation and organization in Chile.

One problem with this approach is that it largely leaves out the political activities that occurred between these key moments. We do not get a clear picture of how the political field was shaped by the actions of men interacting with the changing institutions of the state. Bernardo O'Higgins is discussed because he left behind writings and proclamations, but José Miguel Carrera is left out; José Miguel Infante gets attention for his writings and congressional speeches, but Francisco Antonio Pinto is hardly mentioned. I was happy to see the ideas of the radical printer Santiago Ramos included, but, oddly, there is not a single mention of Diego Portales, even in the chapter on order, the only chapter that extends into the 1830s and 1840s. Thus the process of how we go from the *Patria Vieja* to the *Patria Nueva* or from the Constitution of 1828 to the Constitution of 1833 is not really explained. We see only a reflection of that history in the mirror of political ideas.

Nevertheless, that reflection is absolutely essential to grasping the significance of Chilean political thought in the history of the wider Atlantic republican world. This book delivers on its promise to raise the international profile of Chilean political thought in the nineteenth century.

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Colonial Period

Cusco: Urbanism and Archaeology in the Inka World. By IAN FARRINGTON.

Ancient Cities of the New World. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013.

Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography.

Index. xx, 431 pp. Cloth, \$79.95.

Unlike most of its contemporary cities in the Western world, Cuzco, the capital of Tawantinsuyu (the Inca Empire), was carefully designed as the seat of the government and residence for the Inca elite. From ca. 1438, when Inca Pachacutec began planning the city, to 1533, when the first Spaniards visited the area, the site was transformed into a grid city featuring plazas, palaces, temples, and over 4,000 residential units. While the city's scale and design, as well as the quality of its constructions, astonished its conquerors, by the 1590s Cuzco had been stripped and remodeled into a Spanish city to accommodate

the spatial needs of its new inhabitants. Only a number of walls survived, making the reconstruction of its original physiognomy virtually impossible. Despite its archaeological relevance, research on Inca Cuzco has been customarily embedded in academic texts, such as Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies's *Inca Architecture* (1980), or in UNESCO-sponsored reports regarding the city's conservation, such as Santiago Agurto Calvo's *Cusco: La traza urbana de la ciudad inca* (1980). Thanks to the various archaeological excavations that since the late 1980s began uncovering building foundations, it is now possible for scholars to envision the spatial organization of the Inca capital. In this context, Ian Farrington's *Cusco: Urbanism and Archaeology in the Inka World* is the first comprehensive scholarly text that uses archaeological data and historical descriptions to analyze the making, development, and urban life of Cuzco during the Inca period (AD 1000–1534). Additionally, it is an excellent complement to Brian Bauer's *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca* (2004), a text that studies the city within a broader area (the Cuzco Valley) and a larger historical period (10,000 BC–AD 1880).

Farrington begins by introducing the readers to Cuzco's physical and historical context (pre-Inca and Inca urban precedents, and Inca urban architecture) and to the methodology he will deploy (chapters 1–4). Following this introduction, chapter 5 is dedicated to the analysis of Cuzco's urban historical topography from its origins to the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the urban historical topography specific to the Inca period is absent, while Farrington's interesting account of the city's planning—a task that required canalizing rivers, terracing land, and identifying qualified labor and sources for building material—is introduced earlier, in chapter 3. Chapters 6–8 are dedicated to the study of the city's form and address aspects that range from the general (the plan, the size and orientation of streets, and the arrangement of public spaces) to the specific (for example, the use of Inca urban components, particularly the *kancha*—a walled compound of units organized around a courtyard—and the Inca linear measuring system of *waska*, *rikra*, and *sikya*). By classifying excavation finds into three groups—domestic, craft, and funerary artifacts—Farrington proposes a hypothesis of urban (and suburban) life in chapters 9–11. The urban symbolism of Cuzco, an important topic when discussing Inca culture, is discussed in chapter 12. Finally, the author offers his conclusions in chapter 13.

While the book provides the general reader interested in Inca culture a comprehensive and well-organized study, it lacks basic general references (i.e., a list of the Inca rulers and a timeline of the Inca period) that could be very useful, particularly to those less familiar with pre-Hispanic Peru. More worrisome is the inconsistency between the author's claim to have applied "town plan analysis"—a methodology that uses cartography to understand the changes of a city over time as well as the impact on (and from) social forms—and the cartography included in the book. There is no doubt that the city's urban historical topography is presented in textual form, but the incompleteness and irregularity of the maps and building plans make it difficult to visualize for Cuzco connoisseurs and nonexperts alike. In most of, if not all, the maps, several streets, block numbers, buildings, and neighborhoods referenced in the text are not labeled.

Additionally, these maps do not include hydrographic and topographic information that can help the reader understand the dramatic landscape surrounding the city. This becomes particularly critical due to the fact that the author frequently alludes to structures by their address, block number, or current business or institutional name. Consequently, to complete the missing information, the reader is obliged to resort to other sources that range from city maps to academic texts such as those previously mentioned by Gasparini and Margolies and by Bauer. As for building plans, architectural conventions are improperly applied, creating a discrepancy between images and texts. Such is the case in chapter 10, where Farrington discusses the trapezoidal fenestration to the south of the main structure in the neighborhood of Qolqampata and the plan conveys a solid wall (p. 256). Correcting these observations in a revised edition of the book would help the quality of the text even further.

While Farrington might not demonstrate the use of the methodology he claims, the rich analysis presented in this first edition will reward those readers interested in Inca Cuzco.

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Angels, Demons, and the New World. Edited by FERNANDO CERVANTES and ANDREW REDDEN. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Map. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xii, 318 pp. Cloth, \$95.00.

As the editors point out in their helpful introduction, angels' immateriality and benign nature make them elusive and incomprehensible to the modern mind, so that the devil not only "has the best lines" (p. 1), but he and his minions have also garnered a lion's share of popular fascination and academic attention. This volume, based on papers presented at a symposium at Bristol University, seeks to examine the role of both angels and devils, not only in the theology and orthodox piety of colonial Spanish America but also in local religiosity, where belief in their powers threatened to slip into "magic" or "superstition," a hazard thought by church authorities to be especially great among the recently converted indigenous populations. The editors emphasize that despite a certain downplaying of these supernatural forces in Reformation and Catholic Reformation Europe, celestial spirits, be they benign or maleficent, were a widespread and vibrant part of Baroque culture in Spanish America.

The volume is organized into three sections, each with three essays. The first section examines the Old World cosmological position of the devil and of angels. Andrew Keitt turns to the classic medical and philosophical texts of sixteenth-century Spain, in which the thinkers of that period sought to define and distinguish corporal and philosophical explanations of these celestial beings from preternatural ones. We see in the humanist medical treatises a gnawing skepticism about folk healing and demonic influences. Keitt shows how this skepticism toward the preternatural and a naturalization of extraordinary

phenomena were carried to the New World, but he stops short of discussing how such attitudes may have influenced the relative absence of the witch craze in Spain. Kenneth Mills uses a group of Hieronymite narratives about Our Lady of Guadalupe of Extremadura to show how concepts of demonic possession were easily transferred to the Indies and how they became a principal explanation for the delusion and blindness of the indigenous peoples. Fernando Cervantes then shifts the focus to angels by demonstrating the particular attachment to their role by the early (pre-Reformation) missionaries, who remained convinced of the unity of the natural and supernatural worlds and who often sought to find parallel elements in preconquest religions to facilitate conversions.

The three chapters on indigenous responses seek to show how native American peoples sought ways to incorporate demons and angels into a new cosmology alongside other Christian concepts. It is perhaps inevitable that the papers presented here concentrate on the heartlands of the viceroyalties, New Spain and Peru. Only Andrew Redden's chapter takes on New Granada, and thus the frontiers north of the Río Bravo, south of the Bío Bío, or even of the well-studied mission fields of Paraguay or California are not included. Central Mexico offers excellent opportunities and sources for study. Louise Burkhart's review of the appearance of angels or devils in 27 pieces of Nahuatl theater reveals that these supernatural forces were naturalized as part of everyday existence, but given the missionaries' influence on these scripts, it is difficult to separate indigenous from Spanish voices and cosmologies in the plays. Caterina Pizzigoni's use of a different type of source, Nahua wills and testaments from the Toluca Valley, shows that angels were invoked rarely and over time seem to have played a far less important role in indigenous religiosity than the saints.

The final section on "The World of the Baroque" deals with the role of the celestial angels and the devil in the Baroque culture of the mature colonial era. Ramón Mujica Pinilla draws on his excellent previous study *Ángeles apócrifos en la América virreinal* (1992) to examine the role of angels in the political theology that accompanied and described the Spanish conquest of Peru. Despite post-Trent attempts to discourage the proliferation and individualization of angels, their naming and representation in military garb spread throughout the Peruvian viceroyalty and became a genre of colonial religious art. Mujica Pinilla demonstrates how authors from Bartolomé de Las Casas to Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala incorporated supernatural beings into an "eschatological *imaginaire*" (p. 182), but, surprisingly, he does not discuss their relationship to the other miracles of the conquest like Pedro de Candia's miracle at Tumbes or the purported intervention of the saints in crucial battles. Jaime Cuadriello's sweeping essay compares missionary influence and indigenous response to divine interventions and messengers in Peru and Mexico, arguing that the *república de indios* had accommodated to a Baroque cosmography by the eighteenth century.

David Brading's concluding essay argues that the New Jerusalem that the missionaries sought to make out of New Spain was retarded or perverted by the stubborn idolatry of the native peoples. By the seventeenth century, Marian and angelic devotions were promoted to remedy that continuing problem. Brading provides a number of

exemplary texts with that goal, including Alonso Ramos's hagiography of the onetime slave Caterina de San Juan, the famous *china poblana* whose spiritual struggles, with the help of the Virgin and various angels, against demons provided a model for the "cycle of Catholic devotion that reached its apogee" in the mid-eighteenth century (p. 272). Even though Brading uncharacteristically misidentifies Caterina, who was born in India, as coming from the Philippines (an error that the editors also make), he convincingly insists we cannot understand her world, or her importance to her contemporaries, without considering her angelic aides and demonic opponents.

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Signs of Power in Habsburg Spain and the New World. Edited by JASON MCCLOSKEY and IGNACIO LÓPEZ ALEMANY. Lanham, MD: Bucknell University Press, 2013. Photographs. Illustrations. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. xxii, 246 pp. Cloth, \$85.00.

This is a fascinating collection of essays by different authors who, by means of careful examinations of texts, shed light on the nature, status, and practice of power in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Spain. Two pieces, one dealing with Juan de Palafox y Mendoza and, especially, one focused on the writings of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, address Spain's relationships to the territories it had conquered in the New World. Three of the contributions (by Anne J. Cruz, Ignacio López Alemany, and Jason McCloskey, respectively) were first presented as lectures at a 2009 symposium organized in connection with the exhibition *Sacred Spain: Art and Belief in the Spanish World* at the Indianapolis Museum of Art, curated by Ronda Kasl. I mention the circumstance of this important exhibition as background and source because a striking characteristic of this compilation is that many of its essays make use of visual materials, especially paintings, and, in some cases, this treatment is quite extensive. The title itself, by emphasizing signs, gives notice of the book's participation in what is often now called the visual turn in the humanities. None of the authors are art historians; rather, they are linguists (Spanish and Portuguese) versed in literature and its relation to multiple aspects of human culture. The other key word in the title is "power," the basic concern of the essays, which are divided into two parts: "Myths of Power" and "Challenges for Power." The unsigned preface (authored, I suppose, by the volume's two editors, Jason McCloskey and Ignacio López Alemany) offers a good introduction to the contents of the book and the problems it intends to examine.

The essays deal mostly with the reigns of Philip II and Philip III. The literary references brought into the analyses include classical authors, of course, as well as Miguel de Cervantes, Luis de Góngora, and Félix Lope de Vega, among others. In part 1, for example, Cervantes's Sansón Carrasco and Don Quixote are the focus of Frederick A. de Armas's essay on myths of power, with suggestive references to sculpture gardens, specifically the one at Bomarzo. In part 2, E. C. Graf examines Cervantes's *La Numancia* alongside El Greco's paintings for El Escorial, providing a cogent explanation for

Philip II's reluctance to further patronize the painter. In connection to this interface between texts and paintings, Titian is, interestingly, the artist most mentioned in the collection, since several of the essays are concerned with the details of the well-known relationship between the Venetian painter and both Charles V and, especially, Philip II. In particular, Anne J. Cruz and Lucia Binotti deal sensitively with Titian's erotic paintings for Philip II, comparing them to classical and contemporary literature and placing them in the context of not only Philip's very personal concerns but also his dynastic and political ones. Titian is also central in McCloskey's essay, the last of part 2, which compares Lope de Vega's *La Dragontea* to the painter's *Religion Succored by Spain*. The canvas, to my mind, continues to be a puzzling work, certainly illuminated by literary comparisons but still insufficiently studied in terms of its visual lineage. Other painters mentioned are Giovanni Battista Perolli and Cesare de Bellis (not Cesare Arbasia, as he is identified in the text), who depicted the mythological, classical, and allegorical themes of the frescos at the El Viso estate of Álvaro de Bazán, admiral of the Spanish navy. López Alemany introduces these artists in his discussion of the concepts of power and honor.

Other objects are brought to bear on the topic of "challenges for power," the focus of part 2. Elvira Vilches focuses on coinage during the reign of Philip III in her discussion of trust in power and its potential instability. The ambivalent, personal use of heraldic imagery by Juan de Palafox y Mendoza is the topic of John Slater's essay. Ana María G. Laguna studies another case of contesting power, the openly critical writings of Antonio Pérez, former personal secretary of Philip II turned "traitor." Finally, José A. Cárdenas Bunsen examines Inca Garcilaso's reasoning about legitimate power and the problems of just war in his *Royal Commentaries*. In conclusion, the essays in this collection succeed in engaging the reader through their high level of scholarship on varied topics, all focused on the exercise and reception of Spanish Hapsburg power.

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The Comedia of Virginity: Mary and the Politics of Seventeenth-Century Spanish Theater.

By MIRZAM C. PÉREZ. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012. Maps. Notes.

Bibliography. Index. ix, 173 pp. Cloth, \$39.95.

Mirzam Pérez's *The Comedia of Virginity: Mary and the Politics of Seventeenth-Century Spanish Theater* explores three little-known comedias from seventeenth-century Spain with an eye toward understanding their impact on the cultural discourse about the Virgin Mary in this period. The book includes some insightful observations and analyses but fails to deliver on the promise of its overall argument.

The first three chapters examine a lesser-known work, *La limpieza no manchada* (1618), by the famous playwright Félix Lope de Vega. This comedia was unusual for its subject matter—the Virgin Mary's immaculate conception—and its commissioning—it

was sought by the University of Salamanca for performance in that city. All of this is quite intriguing. It is helpful to learn more about Lope's oeuvre, and it is also useful to shift the analysis of the *comedia* to smaller cities outside Madrid and Seville. The analysis of the play and its significance, however, falls a bit short. The protagonist who debates the Virgin's immaculate conception in the play is Saint Bridget. Pérez never explores why Saint Bridget would have been Lope's choice, saying simply that Bridget enjoyed an "extraordinary relationship to divinity" (p. 27). Inexplicably, her argument about Saint Bridget is buried in an endnote. Her examination of this *comedia* includes a study of the festival book that was prepared to commemorate its performance and related festivities. She argues persuasively that the festival book maps the sacred space of the city, leaving out, for example, the religious foundations of the anti-immaculist Dominicans. Yet she could do much more with this analysis. She speaks of the festival book's "readers" but never explains who they might have been. In other words, who are the significant messages of this text for?

The fourth chapter is the strongest, though Pérez does not fully develop her argument. Here she examines Angela de Azevedo's *Dicha y desdicha del juego y devoción de la Virgen* (ca. 1640) (Pérez does not provide English translations of the titles of the plays she examines). As a play by a female author that champions a strong maternal role for the Virgin and that was probably intended to both exemplify and bolster the power of the queen, Isabel of Bourbon, this is a rich text. A deeper immersion in the gender debates of the period and their recent examination by historians would enhance Pérez's points and lend credence to her assertion that Azevedo has crafted a "matriarchy" in this play (p. 79). She also contends that Azevedo is an important female voice, privy to the machinations and crises in the Hapsburg court at this time. Situating Azevedo within the historical milieu of Spain's perceived decline and through the commentary of other female writers like María de Guevara would help further highlight her significance. The strongest part of this chapter is Pérez's analysis of the deployment of the visual arts in the play. She argues convincingly that Azevedo uses rich descriptive passages to place her own stamp on questions of the iconography of the Virgin Mary.

Chapter 5 looks at a third play, Agustín Moreto y Cabaña's *Santa Rosa del Peru* (1669). This play allows Pérez to extend her argument to an examination of the role played by female saints and the Virgin Mary in consolidating and legitimizing Spain's overseas empire. Unlike in her examinations of Lope de Vega and Angela de Azevedo, Pérez includes no biographical information about Moreto y Cabaña. Given her assertions about the play's role in Spanish hegemony, it would be helpful to know more about his background and his oeuvre. The bulk of the chapter examines the cult of Saint Rose of Lima; even the figure of the Virgin Mary plays a decidedly smaller role in this chapter, making it an awkward fit with the analysis of the two previous plays.

This is not a book for the nonspecialist. For example, Pérez never defines or explains the *comedia*. Lacking an understanding of this literary form and its performance spaces will make it difficult to appreciate the broader significance of Pérez's arguments. This is unfortunate because I think it will cost the author readers interested more broadly in the

cult of the Virgin Mary and early modern theater. There are also a few errors that limit the study, such as identifying Thomas Aquinas as the founder of the Dominican Order (p. 11).

The Comedia of Virginity, as noted above, has some valuable insights to offer the scholar of seventeenth-century Spanish theater. Greater attention to detail and the complexity of arguments, however, would make this a stronger work.

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Pintura de los reinos: Identidades compartidas en el mundo hispánico:

Miradas varias, siglos XVI–XIX. Edited by RAFAEL DOBADO GONZÁLEZ and ANDRÉS CALDERÓN FERNÁNDEZ. Mexico City: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 2012.

Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliographies. 341 pp. Paper.

This edited volume complements an exhibition that was collaboratively organized by Mexican and Spanish scholars in Madrid and Mexico City in 2010–2011. The central premise of the project, as presented in the introduction by Rafael Dobado González and Andrés Calderón Fernández, both of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, was to underline artistic commonalities in the early modern transatlantic Hispanic world while recognizing regional differences. The book consists of 16 chapters divided into sections that explore three themes: the human and economic foundation of the Hispanic world, culture and politics of the Hispanic monarchy, and artistic exchanges between Europe, America, and Asia. Although the volume's title suggests a focus on painting, the essays include a broader selection of material production, including botanical illustrations, maps, prints, books, and Asian or Asian-inspired decorative objects, in addition to more conventional painting.

In the opening essay of the first section, the collection's weakest offering, Gonzalo Anes y Álvarez de Castrillón, of the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, aims to counter criticisms regarding the negative effects of the conquest in Mexico, effects that he downplays by questioning various period sources; however, when he offers statements such as, when referring to the destruction of indigenous cities during the Spanish-led conquest, "It is important to remember that, with the exception of Tenochtitlan and Cuzco, there were no true cities in pre-Columbian America" (p. 33), he risks being misconstrued as an apologist for the Iberian intervention in the Western Hemisphere. He goes as far as suggesting that the Spanish "civilizing" mission in the Americas should be admired. The author aims to underline what he considers to have been the generally positive outcomes of Spanish colonialism—a one-sided assessment that would surely be contradicted by other historical perspectives, such as the indigenous or even the creole.

Other more informative chapters in the first section include the essays by Calderón Fernández and Dobado González, and by Gisela von Wobeser, of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). The former offers a comparative study of salaries in Mexico and Spain with those in other areas of the world, revealing that

economic inequality in Spanish America was far greater than in other regions and that indigenous populations especially suffered due to the exploitation occasioned by the *encomienda* system, from which Spain flourished as a result of the influx of American gold and silver. The latter essay looks at credit and explains how the inhabitants of New Spain, from the poorest to the wealthiest, financed purchases and various projects. A significant observation it offers is how the use of credit was shaped by the absence of both banks and paper money as well as by ecclesiastic restrictions on usury.

Other points of interest in this volume include essays in the second section by Iván Escamilla González, of UNAM, and Guadalupe Jiménez Codinach, of Fomento Cultural Banamex. They contribute to a growing interest in the particular shape and effects of the Enlightenment in Spain and the Indo-Hispanic Americas. The former essay critically revisits the tension between creoles and peninsulars regarding the writing of a history of the Americas, while the latter considers the ideological role of secret societies, such as the Masons and Los Guadalupes, in New Spain's social, economic, and political life.

In the third and final section, which focuses specifically on the effects of global exchanges on art production, the chapters by Jonathan Brown, from New York University, and Gustavo Curiel, of UNAM, stand out. Brown asks where Novohispanic painting can be located in the broader sphere of Western art during the early modern period. He approaches this question by revisiting the long-recognized relationship between painting in Mexico City and Seville from the late sixteenth through the seventeenth century. Curiel, responding to a developing body of literature on the pivotal connection between Asia and the viceregal Americas in terms of trade and colonial art production, focuses on the effects of imported commodities from the so-called Orient on American art forms, such as furniture, ceramics, and textiles.

This publication makes several important contributions to the study of the early modern Spanish empire. From an art historical point of view, the investigation of economic phenomena, such as markets and credit, are significant, given the roles of commerce, markets, and patronage in art production, which have long been recognized in the scholarly literature but seldom examined in detail. The focus on transatlantic correspondences, specifically in terms of painting, is not novel and has already been noted by various scholars; however, the attention to certain themes that, in some cases, have been recognized to some extent, while in others, not at all, is important. In spite of inconsistencies in terms of form, content, and rigor, the volume presents new and valuable research that further fleshes out our understanding of the Hispanic world's participation and, most importantly, the role of the Americas in early modern processes of globalization.

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Baroque Sovereignty: Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora and the Creole Archive of Colonial Mexico. By ANNA MORE. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. Photographs. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 350 pp. Cloth, \$65.00.

Mestizaje, indigenismo y criollismo son tres -ismos sobre los que se ha pretendido articular la identidad nacional de México y los mexicanos, tres formas conceptuales que son al mismo tiempo categorías históricas originadas en el proceso histórico mismo del cual pretenden dar cuenta. De ahí su carácter esencialmente polémico y sus alcances político-ideológicos y académicos diversos. Inicialmente se estaría tentado a afirmar que este libro trata de un reciclamiento de la leyenda criolla de la historia moderna y nacionalista de México. Pero la seriedad y cuidado con que está hecho, exigen del lector poner mayor atención.

En principio se diría que en *Baroque Sovereignty* existe un *insight* que vale la pena retener: frente a la visión de un México variopinto, abigarrado racial y culturalmente, marcado por contrastes sociales, el elemento “criollo” —y no el “mestizo” de Andrés Molina Enríquez de finales del XIX— parecería ocupar un lugar preeminente. Se vislumbra una especie de invitación a viajar a las fuentes históricas del México actual, situadas en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII, en donde se encontraría una suerte de sustrato arqueológico del presente que podría explicarnos la producción de un tipo de discursos políticos, antropológicos e historiográficos como los que celebraron y conmemoraron el quinto centenario del “descubrimiento de América” (1992) como “encuentro entre dos culturas”.

En efecto, el relato se inicia con la crisis y colapso de la utopía universalista de la monarquía católica de los Austrias, cuando España comenzó a declinar como potencia global. En ese contexto se podría observar la emergencia de nuevas formas regionales de “soberanía” en Hispanoamérica. Ahora bien, dicha “soberanía” no se entendería si no se hubiera dado un trabajo sobre la memoria alrededor de la formación y organización de un “archivo criollo”, diferente y distante de otros archivos previos “peninsulares” e “indígenas”. Este nuevo *organum* archivístico, además de solventar el problema de la legitimidad del nuevo orden político y social, se caracterizaría por su capacidad para sublimar la violencia intrínseca a la conquista militar y espiritual de la población americana originaria. A su vez la “construcción criolla” de un “nuevo” orden virreinal desvinculado de la violencia, formas de vasallaje y servidumbre de las Encomiendas, implicó el recurso a un tipo de lenguaje alegórico y hermético, neoplatónico, visual y escrito, festivo y ceremonial, estructurado alrededor del principio de la reconciliación entre españoles e indígenas.

De esta manera, en el centro de la argumentación aparece el “archivo criollo” —que reúne piezas y artilugios de la antigüedad americana y novohispana— concebido como una especie de arca de la alianza entre vencedores y vencidos; un dispositivo articulado alrededor de un discurso histórico-salvífico que entrelaza la migración o éxodo del pueblo mexica preamericano (de Aztlán a Tenochtitlán) con los hechos posteriores a la conquista. Es evidente que la formación de este discurso se realiza a partir de reglas que

permiten hacer coexistir mito e historia. Sólo así se puede entender el ingreso de figuras arquetípicas como el apóstol Santo Tomás antes de la llegada de los españoles por un lado y, por el otro, disponer del primer registro escrito en el siglo XVII de las apariciones de la virgen de Guadalupe poco después de la conquista. En la gestación de este trabajo aparece el papel central de los jesuitas, una orden religiosa surgida de la crisis y fractura de la cristiandad medieval. Sobre estas dos figuras emblemáticas se tejen los nexos secretos entre el pasado precolombino y la dominación virreinal, que armonizan además los polos contrapuestos de Oriente y Occidente. A partir de esta construcción mito-histórica, los “criollos” fungirán en adelante como oráculos y expertos autorizados al ocupar un lugar intermedio entre esos dos mundos y culturas. Así la gestación de este archivo y sus efectos sociopolíticos, leídos desde una perspectiva postcolonial (Dipesh Chakrabarty), implicarían la provincialización de Europa, si bien sin abandonar un relato bíblico de carácter escatológico.

El “archivo criollo” se convirtió entonces en un referente moral-civilizatorio que limaría las asperezas del salvaje y del bárbaro identificados con el pagano y el idólatra del periodo precristiano, lo mismo que prepararía las medidas que sellarían y fijarían las fronteras del territorio novohispano en las cuatro direcciones. Sin embargo, no obstante el despliegue de la “racionalidad barroca” y dada su naturaleza artificial, quedaría la huella de la presencia espectral o fantasmagórica de lo desplazado, que irrumpirá en el tumulto de 1692 como una forma de violencia inexplicable. Lo ominoso emergió en medio de lo familiar y del vecindario de la capital, que impulsaría a su vez el desarrollo de una política “vecinal” de autodefensa, que en conjunto sentaría las bases del surgimiento de una forma de organización social y política “criolla”.

La tesis expuesta se deriva de la exégesis cuidadosa realizada por la autora sobre diversos textos del siglo XVII. Los materiales remiten sobre todo a Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, sabio novohispano, exjesuita, matemático, topógrafo e historiador, cartógrafo y publicista virreinal. Para su análisis More se ha servido de algunas prestaciones heurísticas de la obra de Walter Benjamin y otras de corte foucaultiano, pero también de algunas nociones “raciales” de Etienne Balibar. En esa lectura que intenta no aislar lo literario de lo político emerge la noción de “archivo” como piedra angular de la argumentación, en deuda con *Mal de archivo* de Jacques Derrida.

En suma, el texto de Anna More constituye una propuesta historiográfica exigente y provocadora, bien escrita y entramada. Por sus alcances y ambición intelectual, seguramente despertará interés entre un vasto sector de especialistas (antropólogos e historiadores, expertos en género y sociología, literatos y filósofos) interesados en el siglo XVII y sus posibles conexiones con el presente. Se trata de un libro que, no obstante, en sus desplazamientos al interior de esa larga cadena de signos (ambiguos y equívocos) no puede evitar constituirse en un nuevo archivo/enigma.

GUILLERMO ZERMEÑO PADILLA, El Colegio de México

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National Period

Celebrating Insurrection: The Commemoration and Representation of the Nineteenth-Century Mexican Pronunciamiento. Edited by WILL FOWLER. The Mexican Experience. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012. Notes. Bibliography. lvi, 303 pp. Paper, \$45.00.

Military uprisings (*pronunciamientos*) have occupied a central place in nineteenth-century Mexican political history. According to some authors, there were more than 1,500 *pronunciamientos* in the period of a little more than 50 years spanning from independence to the consolidation of the national state with Porfirio Díaz. At that point, Mexicans developed a kind of culture of insurrection. Given this fact, no historian who studied that period could help but approach that phenomenon and elaborate upon it. Yet, up to the present, there has been no systematic research dedicated to unraveling the manifold aspects it involved.

The book under review intends to fill that gap in Mexicanist historiography. *Celebrating Insurrection* is part of a multivolume endeavor, designed by Will Fowler, that started with *Forceful Negotiations* (2010) and *Malcontents, Rebels, and Pronunciados* (2012) and will conclude with a work now in progress. This third work in the series is dedicated to a specific and curious aspect of the *pronunciamiento*: the fact that a practice that was unanimously condemned, since it resulted in political instability and anarchy, was at the same time the object of celebration. Yet celebration and condemnation were not necessarily seen as contradictory. Comprehending how these opposed feelings could coexist helps us understand a crucial aspect of Mexican political culture.

As a matter of fact, the practice of insurrection was at the origin of the Mexican nation (as it was for the rest of the nations of Latin America), and the right to it was constitutionally consecrated by the 1824 charter. But it was soon clear that exercising this right set the whole political system into complete disarray. At that point, the key issue became how to establish limits to that right without eliminating it, how and where to separate its legitimate and illegitimate uses. The celebrations of insurrections did this by publicly staging purported criteria for discerning when and why an uprising was supposedly legitimate. However, the proliferation of celebrations, a corollary of the proliferation of insurrections, blurred these criteria. This situation inevitably left such celebrations heterogeneous and contradictory, undermining their credibility and making them look rather opportunistic, the spurious act of legalizing a usurpation of power.

Thus the transition from deed to right, critical for every political system that intends to gain public acceptance, proved highly improbable in nineteenth-century Mexico, if not entirely unfeasible. Some of the studies gathered in this volume show how these inconsistencies resulted in paradoxical phenomena. For instance, while the Plan de Iguala was vindicated as the fundamental landmark in Mexico's constitution as an independent nation, its author was condemned as a traitor. A number of the book's chapters deal with the vicissitudes of the selection process by which some of the *pronunciados* became national

heroes and some were neglected and forgotten. Other chapters instead show how, many times, the celebration of pronunciamientos played other, more immediate political functions beyond merely propagandistic ones. Vindication of a revolt could contain an implicit message; it could be addressed to the members of local communities that carried it out or to the leader of a past revolt, among others. Praising their action could thus help recruit them for a new uprising. In every case, the vindications and deprecations of past events were simultaneously addressed to the future, pointed to a prospective action. The ways of depicting these past events were thus revealing of a given political project and played a role in articulating alliances among different social sections or political factions.

Celebrations of insurrections thus became in Mexico complex events, as they were very diverse in their contents. As the book shows, their commonplaceness, the fact that insurrection became an almost universal practice, hides a wide variety of situations. The celebrations diverge in terms of scale, geographical location and reach, social composition, ideological premises and founding political orientation, and so on. Studying them thus demands penetrating into the specific pragmatic context in which each took place, the particular circumstances that motivated them. Yet the book also shows how, beyond their diversity, all of them converged in the affirmation of a political dynamic that sunk the system into growing illegitimacy, causing gridlock so tight that the government was no longer able to act, even in response to a foreign military force. These studies thus reveal how the seemingly paradoxical fact that the same people who condemned insurrections repeatedly participated in them points to more than a subjective condition (the ambiguity and inconsistency of the time's political actors) but rather to objective political dynamics demanding minute study. It was these political dynamics that forced agents to use a mechanism that they deemed perverse but inevitable. At that point, those who wanted to end that whirlwind of insurrections could not help but keep revolting and celebrating their revolts, thereby only reproducing that very mechanism they wanted to break. *Celebrating Insurrection* provides fundamental clues for disclosing this crucial aspect of nineteenth-century Mexican political history.

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Revoltas, motins, revoluções: Homens livres pobres e libertos no Brasil do século XIX.

Edited by MONICA DUARTE DANTAS. São Paulo: Alameda Casa Editorial, 2011.

Tables. Notes. 567 pp. Paper, R\$70.00.

Focusing on the major uprisings that swept through several Brazilian cities and rural areas during the imperial period, this collection seeks to examine the ways in which free poor and freed populations of color engaged with, resisted, and negotiated the often tumultuous process of state formation at the national, provincial, and local levels. While the topic of lower-class involvement in these rebellions is not new, what distinguishes this

volume is the variety of geographical areas covered, the inclusion of movements from the first and second halves of the nineteenth century, and the depth of analysis of the motives, means, and meanings of popular participation in social protest as the Brazilian state built and defined the boundaries of its legitimacy.

The book rejects the traditional classification of imperial-era revolts as nativist, regional, liberal, conservative, regency, *regresso*, or late imperial rebellions. By centering the analytical lens on popular participation in social protest, this collection demonstrates how free poor people, and particularly lower-class men, asserted their rights as citizens and free men of color living the paradoxes of the imperial social and political order, which combined slaveholding and hierarchy with liberal institutions of state. Thus, for instance, Matthias Röhrig Assunção shows that while the lower-class leaders of the Balaiada, a rebellion that affected Maranhão, Piauí, and Ceará between 1838 and 1841, supported elements of the liberal elite cause, they also rose to protest arbitrary recruitment, poor treatment of prisoners, and other abusive measures that violated the citizenship rights of free poor men.

The collection challenges simplistic notions that state formation was a one-way street and that the establishment of political hegemony involved only the elite groups that dominated local, provincial, and imperial political institutions. Even though not all the contributors apply the concept of hegemony, the details in the articles do reveal the extent to which popular groups recognized the legitimacy of the state while attempting to set limits to its power through violent protest. According to Maria Luiza Ferreira de Oliveira, the lower-class men from Campina Grande, Paraíba, who rebelled against the imperial civil registry law of 1851 tore up edicts and occupied public buildings in an attempt to delay the spread of information on the law. As Ferreira de Oliveira argues, they understood the law as a tool that would allow the government to gather information on free poor families and, ultimately, to enslave their children. But crucially, the rebels did not destroy all the documents found in the municipal offices and battalions they attacked, and they did not take money from municipal coffers, which demonstrated their acquiescence to at least some aspects of state power. Instead, they only destroyed records from the justices of the peace and *palmatórias* (wooden paddles used to punish slaves), which symbolized their opposition to the civil registry law and its links with slavery.

Several of the authors use police records, official correspondence, criminal trial suits, and newspaper articles to examine the social profile of popular rebels and how their motivations to join or lead these movements intersected with their material circumstances, class locations, and social positions within the racial hierarchy of imperial Brazil. Although not always in dialogue with the new cultural history of Spanish-speaking Latin America, the discussions of how lower-class men's experiences as voters, National Guardsmen, army recruits, and mobilized troops for various political causes informed their political experience and articulation of popular forms of liberalism, conservatism, constitutionalism, anti-Portuguese sentiment, and republicanism parallel the approach of new cultural studies of Mexico and Peru.

Given the outpouring of recent scholarly work on gender in Latin America and especially Brazil, the volume's title and its lack of gender analysis are problematic. It is true that the Portuguese-language terminology *homens livres pobres e libertos* refers to the free poor as a racial and class group. Yet unfortunately, this designation homogenizes the experiences of men and women from this group. The authors in the collection carefully identify their collective subjects as free, freed, slaves, mulattos, blacks, or whites. Yet they fail to point out whether these subjects were male or female, although the details presented in the chapters demonstrate that most of those who engaged in social protest were men. By not acknowledging sex, the essays inadvertently depict the mostly male political, economic, and social circumstances that they document as universal or normative for both men and women. Likewise, the discussion of the assertion and contestation of state power would gain nuance if the authors addressed the gendered ways in which the construction of political legitimacy in postcolonial Brazil reflected the attempts of male ruling elites to control free poor men's access to weapons, use of violence, labor, and political practice.

These issues aside, this is an innovative contribution to the Brazilian scholarship on imperial politics. It will be of interest to students and scholars of Brazilian and Latin American history, postcoloniality, and state formation.

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Poder y gobierno local en México, 1808–1857.

Edited by MARÍA DEL CARMEN SALINAS SANDOVAL, DIANA BIRRICHAGA GARDIDA, and ANTONIO ESCOBAR OHMSTEDE. Zinacantepec: El Colegio Mexiquense; Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán; Toluca: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, 2011. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliographies. 424 pp. Paper.

Poder y gobierno local en México, 1808–1857 is a study concerning local and regional political transformation during Mexico's transition from a colony to a republic. María del Carmen Salinas Sandoval, Diana Birrichaga Gardida, and Antonio Escobar Ohmstede contextualize their historiographical argument regarding Mexico's political culture by scrutinizing the debate initiated by several scholars in the 1950s. In the editors' opinion, the study of political culture has been dominated by a focus on the connection between culture and politics. Such scholarship believes that the political culture influences the political system. With this book, the editors intend to forsake the vision of the fifties and to offer a new proposal for studying the problem. Their approach consists of three dimensions, taken from the work of Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba: the cognitive (knowledge), the affective (feelings), and the evaluative (opinions). A fourth dimension, inspired by Esteban Krotz, consists of rebuilding the internal dynamics of the political universe in which Mexico became a republic, concentrating on the relationship between ideology and utopia, on the fact that power and political culture have broad ideological

components. Power must be seen through social relationships, through “the action of diverse social actors as well as their historical paths toward the formation of the national states” (p. 11). In other words, it must be seen through the participation of the social actors in hegemony, which is understood as a social process in which meanings and dominant values are expressed through social practices. In the formation of hegemony, the actors may disagree or collaborate. It is in this sense that hegemony is related to the political culture and “*the distribution of power*, locally, regionally, or nationally speaking” (p. 12).

Therefore, political culture must be understood within the framework of the interaction firstly between local and regional power, and secondly between these and national power. Such culture is not necessarily homogeneous in all localities and regions, since it is social actors who make their spaces of power comprehensible and who give the complexity of social and everyday power relationships sense. It is this framework that undergirds the book’s 13 chapters, divided into three sections, along with the conclusion.

The four chapters of the first section explain the relationships between the local government and central government, whether a monarchy or a republic. Sergio Miranda Pacheco, for example, analyzes the conflicts between the local governments of the Federal District and the national government. Such conflict had its origin in the strenuous coexistence within the municipal government of Mexico City and the higher authorities—in other words, the different powers of federal government. Such conflict impeded Mexico City’s federalization because members of Mexico City’s government could not reach through consensus a local constitution that would shape Mexico into a federated state.

Both chapters of the second section work to explain how political culture was generated by the local political actors, who articulated the definitions of neighbors and citizens along with the municipal governments and the provincial powers or the states’ governments. Escobar Ohmstede explains that in the process of transitioning away from the status of neighbor, citizenship arose as a set of mechanisms (laws, decrees, and norms) that regulated both the state government and interpersonal relationships. Being a citizen also endowed rights and obligations as well as introducing the principle of juridical equality. This contrasted with the state arrangements of the old colonial society and made social relocations of former neighbors, now citizens, possible (p. 161).

Finally, the third section contains seven studies dedicated to explaining the construction of modern municipal governments beginning with Gaditan liberalism. The construction of these municipal governments did not proceed smoothly. For example, in the case of Sonora, José Marcos Medina maintains that the people reacted negatively to attempts to transform the mission towns into modern municipal governments, which impeded the implementation of liberal politics within the structure of such governments. Furthermore, the protestors divided into two positions, one supported by those who “claimed to go back to the ways of representation of the Old Regime,” the other advocated by those who proposed an “end to Mexican-Hispanic domination and to constitute an indigenous monarchy that would be independent from the Mexican state” (p. 255). As

a consequence, liberalism did not exist during the first decades of the nineteenth century among the indigenous people in Sonora.

The book, probably written for specialists on the subject, contributes to understanding the different shapes that political culture adopted in some localities and regions in Mexico during the transition from colonial to republican government. The authors manage to successfully describe the role of the social actors, some of them dissidents, as agents of transformation in shaping or forming that politics adopted during the first half of the nineteenth century.

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The Sociable Sciences: Darwin and His Contemporaries in Chile. By PATIENCE A. SCHELL. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. Photographs. Illustrations. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xii, 297 pp. Cloth, \$85.00.

The Sociable Sciences reconstructs the social world of naturalists who traveled to or within Chile in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Patience Schell superbly tells a chronological narrative using overlapping biographies of the preeminent figures involved in the often thrilling and wonder-filled enterprise of natural history fieldwork. She situates these naturalists in the historiography of science and of friendships. Schell typifies the excellence in scholarship on creole science and natural history in the making that will interest social historians, historians of science, and scholars of the transnational nineteenth century.

This story begins with the most familiar, Charles Darwin and Robert FitzRoy, and then expands out to the French botanist Claudio Gay, who changed the way Chileans viewed nature. Other naturalists include Ignacio Domeyko, a Polish exile, Manuel Montt, a future president, and the Prussian brothers Bernardo and Rodolfo Philippi, who extended Chile's territorial boundaries and directed Santiago's Museo Nacional, an axis of the scientific community. Schell's sampling of scientists, including "a high school teacher, a future priest, a sailor, and a research assistant who lived from his wife's dowry" (p. 5), all weave in and out of the narrative, showing that science was eminently sociable. Many politicians, soldiers, socialites, and others become similarly intertwined in the networks of these men. Demonstrating that Chile was as primed to receive Darwin as he was eager to arrive, she pivots the conversation from European actors to the internal politics and ambitions of Chileans. Her careful attention to Darwin's practices in the field—his traveling with "companions" instead of guides (p. 69), for instance—highlights the ways in which adventure could suspend hierarchy. With attention to public reception, scenery, and political intrigue, Schell chronicles a crucial time for both the nascent nation of Chile and for scientific fieldwork more broadly.

Rather than gazing with "imperial eyes," these men were driven by curiosity, wonderment, and awe. To be sure, gathering specimens was a process of cultural privileging

and a tool of expansion, and yet Schell's focus is not so much on the fraught manner in which these scientists were seeing but on what they felt and who they became. This is not to say that their work could not be used for strategic or economic interests—but a scientist is not always a spy or an entrepreneur. Most of these men followed an unstructured course in life, yearning for ways to do science and also make a living. Some of their lives merit great sympathy, such as the torment Gay suffered by his overbearing in-laws or the murder of Bernardo Philippi in remote Magallanes, and all of them labored for a process and enterprise they believed in deeply. The overwhelming message that emerges from these lives is a simple one: scientists are people, too.

In contextualizing the naive, boisterous, bullying, and compassionate acts of these men, Schell raises critical and necessary questions about the transnational constitution of not just knowledge but also individual identities. Historians have long—but perhaps not fully—recognized the flows of non-Iberian European immigrants to Latin America after independence, but until now they have not thoroughly considered how these individuals contributed to nationally constituted understandings of the natural world. Field science was an exciting and collaborative endeavor, and the crucible of vast, uncatalogued nature quickly became a national (and nationalist) project, one ironically disseminated and embedded in Chile by a community of émigrés.

Despite the primary subject of elite male scientists, this is far from a heroic, “great man” narrative. The naturalists’ networks were full of friendships and feuds that make up an expansive transnational community including amateurs as well as politicians and intellectuals. Schell is able to glimpse into the lives of these men through their copious correspondence, diaries, journals, and publications, which allow her to meticulously reconstruct vast social networks with a revealing enthusiasm that made me eager for more. A timeline or graphic representation of the networks might have enhanced the story, as would some greater discussion of regional scientific developments. In general, I find personal travel anecdotes in historical texts distracting and misleading, but in this case, they are expertly employed and inviting. Before you know it, you are transported from an 1877 puma hunt with Enrique Ibar Sierra to the author’s trek across the Southern Patagonian Ice Field, and both have deepened your historical perspective.

The intellectual journey here demands that we rethink narratives about science, about immigrants and exchanges, and about social relationships. This book mediates the space between how humans understand the world around them (science) and how people relate personally to each other (friendships). Historians can no longer see South America as marginal to the foundations of modern science, and Schell explodes assumptions about nationality and authenticity. The eagerness of Chilean politicians to invite immigrant scientists and the trust and loyalty of scientific endeavors should reformulate how we see science for decades to come.

EMILY WAKILD, Boise State University

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Ícônes littéraires et stéréotypes sociaux: L'image des immigrants galiciens en Argentine (1800-1960). By XOSÉ M. NÚÑEZ SEIXAS. Translated by ANNE BAUDAT and GÉRARD BREY. Historiques. Besançon, France: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2013. Photographs. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. 186 pp. Paper, €8.00.

En el vasto campo de los estudios sobre migraciones hacia la Argentina, Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas se ha ganado un lugar destacado con su abundante e innovadora producción. En ese marco, el libro que hoy nos ocupa no se destaca tanto por su aporte original como por la contundencia de la síntesis y la puesta a disposición del lector de habla francesa de un conjunto de investigaciones que el autor ha venido publicando en castellano y gallego. Siguiendo una perspectiva de fuerza creciente desde los años noventa, Núñez centra su atención en las dinámicas socioculturales y los imaginarios sociales, más que en la variable demográfica que dominó los estudios inmigratorios hasta entonces. *Ícônes littéraires* analiza la construcción social de diversas imágenes de los inmigrantes gallegos en Argentina, compartidas por la sociedad receptora y la comunidad inmigratoria. En este último aspecto radica, quizá, el principal aporte del autor, que no estudia sólo los prejuicios generados por la sociedad argentina o la identidad étnica construida por los inmigrantes gallegos, sino la interacción permanente de ambos fenómenos.

Con un interesante despliegue de fuentes cualitativas, que incluye la lectura de sainetes, caricaturas y films, memorias y novelas, libros de asociaciones y prensa gallega, Núñez Seixas reconstruye e historiza la formación de diversos estereotipos frecuentes en la sociedad argentina respecto de los gallegos, rescatando igualmente el rol de su elite comunitaria en la selección, jerarquización y visibilización de algunos de los rasgos constitutivos de esas representaciones. Por otro lado, la imagen autoconstruida por parte del grupo inmigratorio (y en la que su elite cumplió un rol central) tampoco fue producto de su libre albedrío ni resultó de la mera transposición al Nuevo Mundo de identidades peninsulares, sino que fue una creación activa aunque condicionada por su cultura originaria así como por el espejo que le devolvía la sociedad receptora.

El autor nos muestra los diversos procesos de construcción identitaria por medio de creaciones especulares de imaginarios cambiantes pero con momentos de mayor condensación. Permite, así, ver cómo ciertos rasgos y estereotipos cobran preeminencia en determinadas ocasiones, hibernan en otras, y aún reaparecen bajo nuevos contextos y valoraciones. Todo eso en un juego en que se cruzan actores diversos y el peso de las tradiciones. Desfilan así el gallego terco y holgazán junto al ignorante de buen corazón; la doméstica humilde y sumisa junto a la deshonestas; el comerciante exitoso junto con el huelguista . . . Como en un caleidoscopio, Núñez muestra las variadas relaciones entre esas representaciones y la *realidad* de los inmigrantes de carne y hueso, así como la necesaria verosimilitud que la imagen debía poseer para mantener eficacia social; se trata de articulaciones múltiples de percepción y valoración entre la colectividad gallega, la sociedad receptora y otros colectivos (étnicos, políticos, sociales) que en el caso de los

gallegos se hallaban a su vez atravesadas por las tensiones referidas a su lugar e identidad en el Viejo Mundo (en particular, su relación con España y Europa).

Es conocido el carácter peyorativo de los estereotipos dominantes en Argentina respecto del gallego (referido tanto a los oriundos de Galicia como a los de toda España). Menos evidentes resultan los efectos sociales, en términos de discriminación, de tales representaciones. El texto ofrece diversas perspectivas al respecto, incluyendo el hastío de muchos gallegos frente a tanto estereotipo denigrante. Pero no se deja de señalar que, aunque sin representar al *inmigrante deseado*, el gallego tampoco era un *indeseable*, caracterización que la elite argentina reservaba para otros grupos humanos de origen ultramarino, como anarquistas, bolcheviques y *razas* no blancas. Este punto resulta particularmente notable por poco frecuente en los estudios migratorios argentinos, máxime tratándose de un grupo particularmente marcado por caricaturas negativas. Mientras que hubiese sido cómodo poner el énfasis en el sufrimiento de unos sujetos así estigmatizados, el autor subraya que esos estereotipos no parecen haber tenido consecuencias prácticas en términos de discriminación laboral y social ni haber sido obstáculos insalvables para el ascenso social. Al contrario, señala Núñez Seixas, los inmigrantes gallegos, como otros inmigrantes europeos, alimentaron una desconfianza profunda respecto de los argentinos mestizos provenientes del interior del país, considerados holgazanes y deshonestos, y que constituyeron (y constituyen) los verdaderos parias de la sociedad argentina. Después de todo, los inmigrantes gallegos eran europeos y blancos y ése era un rasgo de mayor peso que su posible rudeza intelectual para posicionarse en la sociedad argentina.

Escrito en un estilo claro y ameno, este libro de Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas ofrece una excelente recapitulación de sus investigaciones sobre las representaciones de los gallegos en Argentina, y puede resultar de interés tanto para especialistas como para el público francófono en general.

ENRIQUE GARGUIN, Universidad Nacional de La Plata

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Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil. By MARC A. HERTZMAN. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013. Photographs. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xvii, 364 pp. Paper, \$25.95.

The metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro presents a researcher with a myriad of advantages from a historiographic point of view, along with some potential limitations. The advantages lie in the city's cultural richness and its pivotal position in the burgeoning national culture industry in the early twentieth century. Marc A. Hertzman's diverse, revealing, and extensive archival research for *Making Samba: A New History of Race and Music in Brazil* brilliantly illustrates the advantages of a wide-ranging cultural studies approach to Rio's popular music and race relations in the first half of the twentieth century. In large part, Hertzman's methodology and primary sources are either original

or bring to light areas of research not previously published in English regarding the history of popular music and the lives and careers of Afro-Brazilian and *mestiço* (mixed-race) musicians, journalists, cultural critics, and entrepreneurs. One particularly fascinating example of this is his analysis of several hundred arrest records from Rio, spanning much of the era of Brazil's First Republic (1889–1930). While proving Hertzman's point that samba was not targeted directly by the police, as some have suggested, these records more importantly give crucial evidence of how musicians, particularly black ones, fit into Brazilian society in the years leading up to and during the rise of samba. The arrest records, along with court documents, give a sense of how these musicians were perceived within the juridico-legal regime and how they (and their advocates) attempted to prove their worth as upstanding citizens, at a time when Rio's police were targeting them through vagrancy laws.

Hertzman also does some important institutional research, including his examination of the records of the Society of Brazilian Theater Authors and the later Union of Brazilian Composers (UBC). He emphasizes that these organizations established close ties with Rio's police in order not only to enforce author's rights laws and collect payments from club owners, radio stations, and others who publicly aired popular music but also to censor the music of their members for political or moral reasons. With regard to the Vargas era, Hertzman's approach provides some valuable evidence of how cultural content producers participated in self-censorship through such organizations, which themselves often reproduced the hierarchy, racial inequality, and patronage politics of the Vargas regime within the private sector, prolonging this status quo into the postwar democratic era.

The limitation of a Rio-centric perspective most evident in *Making Samba* is the acute lack of analysis of the culture industry from the perspective of regions outside Rio de Janeiro, despite a title that suggests a national scope for the book's arguments. Indeed, it would be more appropriate to claim in the subtitle that this is a history of race and music in Rio rather than in Brazil. One small but representative example of this limitation is table 16, entitled "Author's Rights Receipts by State/Region (1939–51)" (p. 212). These very important data from the UBC archives raise many questions regarding regional participation in the popular music market, virtually none of which are considered by the author. For instance, why did regional police and club owners at first resist collecting or paying fees for the Rio-based UBC? How much of the fees collected in states like Pernambuco, Bahia, and Rio Grande do Sul was returned to the regional offices, and how much was kept by the headquarters in Rio? Is the relative lack of fees collected in Brazil's north a result of the lack of musical performances and airplay there, or is some kind of regional resistance or alternative institutional structure involved? The answers to these questions would likely reflect the hegemony that Rio's culture industry sought to maintain over the rest of the country, as well as perhaps some of the regional resistance it ran up against in this struggle. Regarding race, other comparative questions with respect to Brazil's regional diversity could be considered. For example, to what degree did regional identity override racial identity among black *sambistas* and other

popular musicians in the northeast or elsewhere, and to what degree did it overlap with race? This analytical framework would help regionalize Rio de Janeiro itself, an effort that would serve as a corrective to the tendency of that city's culture industry and many of its artists to speak and sing for the entire nation, particularly during the period considered in this study.

These limitations aside, *Making Samba* provides a very rich picture of popular music and the experience of black musicians in Rio between the Empire and the 1950s while also addressing some musicians' memories as recounted in interviews from later decades. The work should be welcomed by a broad readership ranging from aficionados of samba to students and scholars of Brazilian popular music and Afro-Brazilian history alike.

JACK A. DRAPER III, University of Missouri

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Human Rights and Transnational Solidarity in Cold War Latin America.

Edited by JESSICA STITES MOR. Critical Human Rights. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 305 pp. Paper, \$29.95.

Times are tough for the discourse of human rights. Assailed for its privileging of the individual over the communitarian, for being a colonial imposition of Western technocrats, for having supplanted struggles for real socioeconomic change, or for portraying the nation-state as the exclusive guarantor of freedoms, human rights as a "discursive framework" (p. 7) has come under significant fire from scholars in recent years. The language of solidarity has fared little better, criticized for reifying North-South imbalances of power and resources or for representing little more than fleeting bursts of empathy directed by the world's haves to its have-nots—as in, for example, the aftermath of the 2010 Haitian earthquake. But as Jessica Stites Mor argues in the impassioned framing essay that introduces her important edited volume *Human Rights and Transnational Solidarity in Cold War Latin America*, such critiques risk throwing the baby out with the bathwater. In order to truly comprehend the value of the human rights and solidarity paradigms in the formation of Latin American political communities, she contends, we must refocus our gaze on local contexts, reciprocal South-South bonds of political engagement, and the ability of left-wing social movements to leverage and renegotiate the assistance proffered to them from abroad in the name of defending human rights. Doing so, Stites Mor suggests, reveals how grassroots social actors in a range of Latin America's Cold War settings "built a kind of alternative transnational solidarity from below" (p. 5)—one that revitalized, rather than neutered, leftist political formations and conceptions of citizenship in the Americas, both during the Cold War and in its aftermath.

The essays, which Stites Mor groups into three clusters, explore the history of solidarity from multiple angles. Framed as addressing "critical precursors to transnational

solidarity" (p. 19), contributions by Margaret Power, Ernesto Capello, and Sara Katherine Sanders explore, respectively, the mobilization of Latin American solidarity networks by the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, Nelson Rockefeller's tone deafness to Latin American demands during his 1969 goodwill tour, and the Mexican student movement of 1968. Next, Russell Cobb, Alison J. Bruey, and Christine Hatzky address "solidarity in action" (p. 99) with pieces on Boom writers' "cosmopolitan transnationalism" (p. 104), local Catholic-Left solidarity at the grassroots level in the *poblaciones* of Augusto Pinochet's Chile, and the lived experiences of the participants in revolutionary Cuba's "internationalist solidarity" missions to Angola (p. 143). Third, Brenda Elsey and Molly Todd consider "the influence of transnational solidarity on postnational responsibilities" (p. 175) with articles on how the Chilean solidarity movement leveraged popular culture across borders and on how Salvadoran refugees in Honduran refugee camps mobilized in exile, adapting international assistance to meet their own priorities. The volume closes with an epilogue by James N. Green, a fascinating and deeply personal "self-interview" in which Green reflects on his decades of international activism in the service of gay rights, human rights, and antiauthoritarianism.

Some of the essays engage with the volume's stated objectives more frontally than do others. The importance of local contexts—and of how, as the editor puts it, "the left used the transnational to raise its own organic challenges to Cold War realities" (p. 5)—shines through most clearly in the contributions by Bruey, Sanders, and Todd, while "transnational solidarity" as such is most directly discussed by Power, Hatzky, Green, and Elsey. This reviewer did wonder about how much concrete impact the particular transnational "political imaginaries" (p. 15) in question actually had, aside from in the Chilean case, on real balances of power in the Cold War Americas—especially as compared to what we might term right-wing South-South solidarity, such as, for example, the Brazilian dictatorship's support for like-minded Southern Cone regimes. However, as Stites Mor emphasizes in her introduction, the volume is intended to begin, not to conclude, a scholarly conversation about "transnational solidarity from below," in order that researchers may continue to probe how Latin American leftists have used their multifarious international alliances to promote social and economic justice on the ground and on their own terms. It promises to be a lively arena of investigation and debate, ably sparked by this compelling and thought-provoking book.

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The New Jewish Argentina: Facets of Jewish Experiences in the Southern Cone.

Edited by ADRIANA BRODSKY and RAANAN REIN. Jewish Latin America. Boston: Brill, 2013. Photographs. Maps. Figures. Tables. Index. xiv, 399 pp. Cloth, \$203.00.

Argentine Jews are vanishing, if you go by the records of Jewish communities. Affected by a 50 percent rate of intermarriage and by emigration, their numbers, estimated retrospectively at 310,000 in 1960, have dwindled in the intervening 50 years to 182,000. Yet

Jews are very much a part of Argentine life. Thousands of “missing” Jewish Argentines, as these essays demonstrate, are dropping their hyphens and integrating into national society. Their active participation in the evolution of *argentinidad* is explored in this collection of essays.

In the introductory essay, José Moya compares the status of Jewish immigrants in Argentina with their status in other countries of the Americas. Moya finds that “the combination of being one of the least diverse Jewish diasporic communities in one of the most diverse settings may be the most distinctive characteristic of Argentine Jewry” (p. 19), noting the scarcity of Sephardic and German elements among them. Comparing the reception of immigrants worldwide, he concludes that a major characteristic distinguishing Argentina from other societies in which Europeans settled is “the extraordinarily low level of xenophobic violence” there (p. 26).

Contradictory judgments regarding that violence and the record of the Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas (DAIA) in confronting it during the Argentine military regime of 1976–1983 have not been resolved in 40 years of vituperative debate. Reports by human rights organizations leave little room to question the existence of homicidal attacks on Jews in the Proceso’s clandestine prisons. But leaders of the Jewish community at that time denied the existence of government-sponsored anti-Semitism and fended off offers by human rights organizations to intervene on their behalf. Historian Emmanuel Nicolás Kahan proposes that we distinguish public versus clandestine anti-Semitism operating in parallel. Jewish institutions remained open and functioning during the repression, a boon that was facilitated by the DAIA’s collaboration with the regime. But human rights were not on the DAIA’s agenda, particularly with respect to people who had been born Jewish but who had separated themselves from the Jewish community, whether through disinterest or by participating in actions of the Left that were defined as subversion. Unfortunately, Kahan writes, many prisoners who had dropped their connection to the Jewish people were “rejudaized” by their torturers (p. 303).

Most of the 15 essays describe social networks that engage Jews and non-Jews equally. The authors explore the marketplace, where Jewish businessmen and women interact with non-Jewish competitors, customers, and suppliers, as well as the Jewish bookstores, libraries, publishers, and printers that provide public intellectual meeting places. Dozens of Argentine Jewish writers and artists make their reputations on both sides of a figurative and fictional Jewish/Argentine line, moving from Yiddish or Ladino to Spanish and imparting a Jewish sensibility to public discourse. The collection explores integration by way of beauty contests organized by Sephardic groups in public venues to elect Queen Esthers, who will be fitted out in the latest Argentine style, as well as through Jewish characters in comic strips and film, who gain acceptance as stand-ins for Argentine everymen. One unusual way in which networks can link Jews to a wider public domain is demonstrated by Argentines who experience their conversion to ultra-Orthodox Judaism as therapeutic, in sync with the long-standing Argentine involvement with psychotherapy.

Some essays may present difficulties to readers who are unfamiliar with Jewish religious practice. Nevertheless, they reward attentive reading for how they explicate ways in which an immigrant culture accommodates to the majority and, in the process, affects its hosts. Beatrice D. Gurwitz analyses the generational crisis within the Argentine Jewish community in the 1960s, when youth demanded a reframing of Jewishness to include national political issues while a conservative establishment feared that political engagement would lead to assimilation. The contest led to the breakdown of community structures and the emergence of youth from an “indecent parochialism” onto the Argentine political scene (p. 236).

David Sheinin’s cogent analysis of Argentina’s Middle East policy, which he places within a Cold War context, should not be lost sight of owing to its outlier position in this volume. Raanan Rein’s essay on political incorrectness describes the controversy that broke out in the 1950s when the prominent writer César Tiempo (who was both Jewish and Peronist, two qualities that the Jewish establishment regarded as incompatible) accepted the post of manager of the cultural supplement of *La Prensa*, which had been absorbed by the Confederación General del Trabajo de la República Argentina, the powerful labor union. As Rein concludes, “Tiempo . . . was trying to offer the Jews of Argentina a concept of identity that would give equal weight to their Jewish and Argentine natures” (p. 229). Such efforts continue and, as this book affirms, have made considerable headway.

Students of both Argentine and Jewish history, as well as knowledgeable readers, will be intrigued by the fruitful new approaches to the subject offered by this well-edited and engaging collection.

JUDITH LAIKIN ELKIN, Latin American Jewish Studies Association

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Race in Cuba: Essays on the Revolution and Racial Inequality.

By ESTEBAN MORALES DOMÍNGUEZ. Edited and translated under the direction of GARY PREVOST and AUGUST NIMTZ. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2013. Glossary. Notes. Index. 244 pp. Paper, \$19.95.

Is there a Cuban racial problem? This charged question opens up one of the essays in Esteban Morales Domínguez’s book *Race in Cuba: Essays on the Revolution and Racial Inequality* (p. 87). The author is a noted scholar and one of the most prominent black advocates for racial equality in Cuba today. His short answer to the question is a categorical “yes,” an unusual position that he expounds in 11 short essays and 3 interviews collected in this book. The pieces were all written, and some of them published, in Cuba between 2002 and 2012 and translated into English for their North American publication. What often makes the discussion of race in Cuba particularly difficult is the entanglement of such discussion with internal and international polemics about the revolution itself, a problem Morales Domínguez must also contend with. Although racial

issues have figured prominently in Cuban historiography and cultural studies in the United States during the last 25 years, Morales Domínguez boldly argues that a problematic "silence" has long enveloped the race question in Cuba on various fronts, including research, media, education, and politics, among others. Some of his publications, including this book, attempt to disrupt that silence. A letter signed in 2009 by 60 African American scholars and activists drawing attention to racial discrimination and repression in Cuba seemingly constituted an external trigger for the turnaround. The book presents a critical Afro-Cuban perspective on race from inside the revolution that addresses both international and domestic publics. Morales Domínguez calls on Cubans to take control of their own race story and to engage in an internal discussion on manifestations of racism, which some sectors in the island would prefer to suppress as either potentially divisive or simply irrelevant. What makes these essays a compelling read is not only this alternative analysis of race in the revolution that may be gaining traction in Cuba. The author's ways of navigating political, national, and racial affiliations in crafting his arguments are important, too.

Although these somewhat repetitive essays are directed to a general audience, chapter 11, a bibliographic essay on Afro-Cuban-related academic work produced in Cuba during the last 50 years, may be of particular interest to Cubanist scholars. To be sure, the extensive list seems to contradict Morales Domínguez's claim that the study of race and Afro-Cubans has been consistently neglected in the island for years. But his critique of this body of work goes deeper. According to him, much of this research, wittingly or unwittingly, is informed by historical or anthropological perspectives that tend to code the material as folklore or relegate it to the past, thereby sidestepping urgent presentist questions about racial dynamics and discrimination in revolutionary Cuban society.

Morales Domínguez's essays are not really in-depth studies of the factors leading to the problems he criticizes. They are preliminary sketches of selected events that he weaves into a simple narrative that has begun to circulate more broadly. Fidel Castro's exhortations in 1959 to end racism found closure in the Second Declaration of Havana (1962), which stated that discrimination had been superseded with the transition to socialism. Political fear of internal divisiveness in the face of threats from external enemies, the material opportunities offered to all by the socialist revolution, and an idealist (dogmatic) view of socialist harmony silenced the discussion of race and ignored lingering forms of racism. Economic fissures in the mid-1980s, the eventual collapse of the socialist bloc, and the economic reorganization of the 1990s, along with the market-driven forces it unleashed, triggered, according to the official view, the (re)emergence of disturbing racial inequalities. For others, including the author, these forces seem to exacerbate latent racial cleavages that had not been properly addressed in the past.

Morales Domínguez does not seem to go beyond a call for awareness and public discussion of the deep racial inequities that, he seems to argue, are incompatible with continuing engagement with a socialist project. There is no mention of possible organizational spaces in civil society or of legal initiatives against discrimination, which he

identifies as liberal solutions. The author also opposes affirmative action policies in a socialist polity (pp. 197–98). Ultimately, while he recognizes similar objectives in the diasporic struggle against racism inside and outside Cuba, liberal and socialist approaches to the problem differ. He aligns the “new battle” against racism in Cuba with the “deepening [of] socialism” rather than with any change of regime (p. 201). At this point, broader polemics about the revolution seem again to dissipate the focus on more specific and robust ways to enact racial change in Cuba. One is left to wonder what other proposals are presently under discussion among other Afro-Cuban men and women on the island.

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Grupo Antillano: The Art of Afro-Cuba. Edited by ALEJANDRO DE LA FUENTE. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013. Photographs. Plates. Notes. 341 pp. Paper, \$49.95.

In this age of e-books and mobile media, of pages on screens and images in malleable pixels, this book is the antithesis of all that. A gorgeous, weighty volume with gleaming reproductions and bilingual columns of text, it is a reminder of the sensory pleasures books can inspire. But this book appeals beyond the aesthetic. As a history, archive, and catalogue of Cuba's forgotten Grupo Antillano, it is also a necessary intervention in the political and cultural histories of race in the Americas. The Grupo Antillano was an art collective comprised of Cuban artists who exhibited their work between the years of 1978 and 1982. Led by the sculptor and printmaker Rafael Queneditt Morales, this loosely organized group of visual artists understood themselves to be revaluing the disparaged legacies of *afrocubanismo* and negritude. Their art posited an ongoing African presence in Cuban culture, drawing from surrealist, abstract expressionist, and modernist idioms in provocative rebukes to racism in socialist Cuba. More than that, they aimed to incorporate music, dance, history, and literature in their resuscitation of cultural forms. Working across disciplines, they collaborated on performances, organized forums, and staged concerts within exhibits in efforts to create a broad public. This short-lived assemblage of creative energy faded and left only the faintest traces, until now, in Cuban history and art history.

The book itself compiles different kinds of texts and images. A testimonial section includes short essays by the artists with their reflections on the intentions and motivations of the Grupo Antillano's project. Replicas of press clippings, posters, and reviews reconstruct the exhibits from multiple perspectives. Perceptive short essays by the art historian and critic Guillermina Ramos Cruz on each of the artists, excerpts from reviews and critiques, and reproductions of the art highlight the participants' specific qualities. Finally, a sampling of works from a recent exhibit that paid tribute to the Grupo Antillano completes the volume and reminds readers of ongoing artistic dialogues about

blackness in contemporary Cuba. The array of media provides a visual and discursive immersion in this creative milieu.

As the editor, Alejandro de la Fuente uses his essay to situate the Grupo within the Cuban state's long and twisted relationship with Afro-Cuban cultural production. Opening with a brief account of "drapetomania," the nineteenth-century pathologizing diagnosis of slaves' desire to flee their bondage, he traces shifting meanings and comes to rest on a notion, developed by Caribbean intellectuals such as Edouard Glissant and René Depestre, of cultural cimarronage, understood as an effort to use aesthetic creation to reshape dire histories. De la Fuente frames the work of the Grupo Antillano with this idea: they were, according to him, the then-contentious and now forgotten inheritors of efforts to sustain and reinvent connections to African cultural forms in Caribbean contexts and to voice critiques of the marginalization of those legacies.

From a historian's, rather than an art critic's, perspective, the volume's emphatic beauty does not mute the controversial, political nature of the art. The changing status of Afro-Cuban spiritual and artistic practices in the revolution, ranging from initial condemnation as decadent to Castro's eventual declaration of Cuba as an Afro-Latin country, existed in parallel to but did not extinguish the everyday disregard for people of African descent. Grupo Antillano's artists intended to intervene and reconfigure this with their invocations of Yoruba gods and captive pasts. They did so by drawing from the kinds of bold abstractions that Wifredo Lam, an acknowledged influence and eventual participant, used to conjure coexistent beauty and pain. At the height of the Grupo's public presence, Volumen Uno, a rival artistic movement that would eventually become emblematic of Cuban contemporary art, declared such modern formalism passé. The political and aesthetic roots of the evaluation and subsequent demise of Grupo Antillano remain entangled, and de la Fuente's deft presentation invites further inquiry. The volume does not resolve the debates surrounding the representation of slavery, race, spirituality, and belonging, but it recovers the visual and textual contexts, both in the late 1970s and the early twenty-first century, in which those debates took place and persist.

ALEJANDRA BRONFMAN, University of British Columbia

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Song and Social Change in Latin America. Edited by LAUREN SHAW.

Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013. Notes. Bibliographies.

Index. vi, 249 pp. Cloth, \$70.00.

Lauren Shaw's edited collection of essays and interviews examines the way in which music has provided a strong voice for resistance to forces of modernization, globalization, and state power in contemporary Latin America. Many genres of Latin American music appear in this volume—guaracha, *bomba*, *plena*, *tropicália*, *trova*, *vallenato*, salsa, rock, and hip-hop—although it is not the intent of the book to discuss their genesis or describe the music. Instead, the authors and musicians consider how national and global

social, political, and economic conditions reverberated through song, including the ways in which song critiqued and challenged power structures.

The first section contains chronologically ordered essays on music and agency. Some of these selections consider the sociopolitical commentary of an entire genre (tropicália, rock), while others focus more narrowly on performers or song lyrics. The scholars draw theoretical inspiration from a variety of disciplines, including literature, political science, and sociology. Each essay in this section includes a discography, footnotes, and a bibliography. Carmelo Esterrich's essay demonstrates how the Puerto Rican band Cortijo y Su Combo gave prominence to urban, Afro-Puerto Rican, and working-class critiques of modernization and rural-urban migration. Scholar and musician Juan Carlos Ureña examines *nueva canción* movements of Central America through the lens of folklore. Like Cortijo y Su Combo in Puerto Rico, *trovadores* created songs centered on the marginalized: in their case, workers, revolutionaries, peasants, women, and even the environment. Coauthors Phillip Chidester and John Baldwin examine Brazilian tropicália via the concept of myth, concluding that its musicians constructed a new national mythology. Lisette Balabarca finds that rock in Argentina, Chile, and Peru gave voice to those, particularly youth, who endured authoritarian exercises of power in climates of violence. Similarly, *rock en español* in Mexico, which Ignacio Corona examines, helped reconstruct cultural identity in the face of political and economic globalization. The globalization of the war on drugs provides the backdrop for the next chapter, on Afro-Colombian vallenato music. Diana Rodríguez Quevedo discusses the way in which this music tells the history of, and solidifies group identity for, a marginalized, displaced population. The final chapter in section 1, a contribution by Shaw, explores the music of two Cuban trovadores, a century apart, as poetry, probing their political possibilities.

The book's second part, "Conversations on Music and Social Change," reminds readers and listeners that song is not only a means toward social change but also an escape as well as a venue for exploring and communicating new ideas and identities. Each chapter begins with a biographical overview of the musicians and includes their responses to questions about their music and the sociopolitical contexts of their lives and work. The first and strongest interview, with well-known *salsero* Rubén Blades, includes conversation about his music as well as his thoughts about and experiences with politics and globalization. Like Blades, Roy Brown views music as a vehicle for transmitting ideas and stimulating thoughts, but additionally as an amusement, an escape. Interviews with Cuban band Habana Abierta and Chilean rapper Ana Tijoux reveal the globalization of musical culture through the Latin American diaspora in Europe. A consideration of gender in contemporary Latin American music is most prominent in the volume's final two interviews, with Tijoux and Zapotec rapper Mare. The interviews are an illuminating addition to the volume. For those readers unfamiliar with the artists' works, a selected discography at the end of each interview would have been helpful.

The variety in this volume's essays, as well as the conversations with musicians, will appeal particularly to students of Hispanic and cultural studies as well as those in the fields of political science, sociology, history, and music. Unlike many anthologies about

contemporary Latin American music, this volume spans a wide geographic area, musical field, and time period. This is both a strength and a weakness; those looking for a reader to supplement courses in Latin American culture will find variety from which to teach, but some readers may not be familiar with the contexts in which the varieties of music are produced. In all, however, the volume holds together as it highlights the ability of music to provide a space for commentary, even against the backdrop of oppression and overwhelming power structures.

KRISTIN DUTCHER MANN, University of Arkansas at Little Rock

DOI 10.1215/00182168-2641487

Painting, Literature, and Film in Colombian Feminine Culture, 1940–2005: Of Border Guards, Nomads, and Women. By DEBORAH MARTIN. Colección Támesis, Serie A, Monografías. Rochester, NY: Támesis, 2012. Photographs. Plates. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. x, 234 pp. Cloth, \$95.00.

Deborah Martin's book is an intricate weaving of quotes and references around the production of what she calls "second-wave feminist" art, literary, and visual production in Colombia during the second half of the twentieth century. Her in-depth readings of the work of painter Débora Arango and the literary production of Laura Restrepo, in addition to the work of contemporary filmmakers Marta Rodríguez, the women's film collective Cine Mujer, and Margarita Martínez, are set in a framework of local and international feminist and cultural theory. The book is an exploration of such visions and practices amid the hegemonic constructions of female subjectivity and nation building. Martin's approach not only describes the works in certain detail while presenting the bibliography focused on them, but it also brings to the fore the most relevant cultural theory in her readings of each and every work. This focus on cultural theory is the most important feature of the book. Martin is preoccupied with establishing a space in which productions marginalized due to their subject matter's gender and national origin are situated in the current discourses of cultural theory, not only in the Colombian context but also in the global imaginary.

It is this interest in dealing with the major currents of theory, from cultural criticism in the art world and literary psychoanalytic and feminist theory to cultural studies, that somehow diminishes the historical relevance of Martin's approach to the works in her study. The reader is immersed in complex discussions of the theoretical dimensions of cultural production while losing the historiography of particular moments in recent Colombian history that would be relevant to contextualize. For example, Martin's selection of films portraying the increasing urbanization in Colombia's major cities, which can also address similar phenomena in other societies of the South, is quite discerning. Films such as *Chircales* (1972), *La mirada de Myriam* (1986), and *La sierra* (2005) explore a genealogy of new urban settlers in the outer rings of today's megalopolis. Unfortunately, there is no mention of contextual information about such phenomena

(beyond references to nomadism), and Martin does not explain the particular interest of the female authors in dealing with the subject while exploring feminine experiences in such locales. The same happens with the discussion of a major visual artist such as Débora Arango, whose work has not been valorized in depth by art critics in Colombia. Martin's arguments advance the scholarship on Arango's work and open new avenues for more critical approaches to it. However, Martin's critique of Arango's oeuvre relies on mainstream art historical approaches; she tries to level her discussion with those of other art historians while ignoring other dimensions of the works, among them a (most-needed) historical context as well the richness of alternative feminist and poststructuralist theory, both otherwise Martin's strengths. In regard to Laura Restrepo, Martin builds on the large body of work that calls the novelist the "new north" in Colombian literary production. Martin's discussion of *El leopardo al sol* (1993) reconciles a major literary novel with popular genres such as telenovelas while maintaining analytical rigor. The same can be said of her discussion of *La novia oscura* (1999), which emphasizes the subjectivity of the female protagonist vis-à-vis her relationship with the plot's other female characters. All the works Martin examines also share a major theme that, in the Colombian context, is no surprise: violence. Martin does not tackle it directly, but it is present in the book's organizing structure. Beginning and ending in Medellín with Arango in the 1940s and *La sierra* in the mid-2000s, Martin's work is another theoretical incursion into the origins of modern violence in Colombia. That dimension, which she avoids tackling directly in the text in trying to distance herself from the most common ground of Colombian scholarship, would complement the vast theoretical and critical map of an otherwise superb work.

Deborah Martin's *Painting, Literature, and Film in Colombian Feminine Culture, 1940–2005* shows how a scholar can draw from multiple areas of study, including art history, literary criticism, anthropology, cultural theory, and film studies, and tie together the production of otherwise unrelated cultural products, opening up spaces for new subjectivities amid hegemonic constructions of the ideas of nation and citizenship in contemporary Latin America.

MIGUEL ROJAS-SOTELO, Duke University Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies

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Crisis of Governance in Maya Guatemala: Indigenous Responses to a Failing State.

Edited by JOHN P. HAWKINS, JAMES H. MCDONALD, and WALTER RANDOLPH ADAMS. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. Photographs. Maps. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xiv, 303 pp. Paper, \$19.95.

With these essays about insecurity and violence, the contributors to *Crisis of Governance in Maya Guatemala: Indigenous Responses to a Failing State* waded into a topic that has received disproportionate attention in the scholarly literature on Guatemala. The very

proliferation of such studies is a reflection of the many manifestations of violence in that nation's recent past and present. Tragically, violent crime has increased since the signing of the 1996 Peace Accords that ended the nation's 36-year civil war (1960–1996). As its title suggests, the volume under review here explores the ways in which the Guatemalan government's inability to maintain stability and security, let alone create conditions whereby the majority of its citizens can thrive, affects Mayas.

One of the questions at the heart of this volume is how power and authority are exercised locally in the context of a weak national government. As other scholars have done, the authors argue that democratic reform and increased access to education and markets have eroded the traditional authority of Maya leaders (particularly elders and mayors) and decreased the state's ability to govern. The essay on lynching describes one consequence of the absence of state-centered governance (as the editors point out, social and ethnic elites have hijacked political control) and then explores (as do other contributors in their essays) other, more measured responses that have taken root. Faced with the government's inability to address such threats as increased gang activity and competition over scarce resources (mainly farm and forest land), community leaders developed legal procedures grounded in traditional justice systems to regain control of their communities. The Guatemalan judicial system, recently acclaimed internationally for being the first to try one of its own former heads of state for crimes against humanity, otherwise largely lacks legitimacy, particularly in light of the failure to arrest, let alone convict, murderers or femicide perpetrators. In this judicial abyss, the contributors find that indigenous-informed and locally determined approaches to law and punishment have created extralegal venues that are more adept at addressing community concerns than the state-sanctioned legal system.

Even as the contributors celebrate the small ways in which midwives, youths, local leaders, and others carve out some autonomy and shape their fates, the essays support James McDonald and John Hawkins's conclusion that broader contemporary contexts have "further marginalized and impoverished the Maya masses" (p. 253). In this way, their findings are less optimistic than those of other scholars (such as Ted Fischer, Peter Benson, and Walter Little) who have asserted that some Mayas have minimized their disadvantages and even improved their lot amid pervasive violence and disempowering neoliberal economic reforms.

With the long-standing anthropological practice of an ethnographer studying a single community over a long period seemingly a thing of the past, this volume demonstrates an intriguing alternative. The editors have worked closely with undergraduate students to conduct ethnographic research on various topics related to a unifying theme (governmentality). Set in Nahualá and Santa Catarina Ixtahuacán, *Crisis of Governance in Maya Guatemala* is the third collaborative student/faculty volume published by the editors. The trilogy provides a rich and eclectic description of those two communities. Deploying multiple researchers allows for a breadth of experiences, connections, and insights that would be nearly impossible for a single ethnographer to achieve. For example, although it forced her to cut her research stay short, Rebecca Edvalson's

pregnancy facilitated an intimate connection to the midwives at the core of her study. Similarly, Tristan Call relates his own position and perspective as a young person to the indigenous youths he seeks to understand.

Yet this strength is also a limitation. Given the diversity of experiences, worldviews, and realities among the 21 different linguistic Maya groups in Guatemala, generalizing information from any one particular community to the nation as a whole is perilous. For example, the assertion in the essay about forest management that “the strategies INAB [Instituto Nacional de Bosques (National Forest Institute)] must employ to deal with local specifics are generalizable throughout Guatemala” (p. 152) rings hollow when one considers that the different types of forests in Guatemala and the uses to which they are put are almost as diverse as the people who live in and around them.

Readers of this journal will notice an ahistorical undercurrent throughout the volume, particularly where assertions tend toward idealizations of the past. For example, in the essay about how democratic elections undermined traditional Maya authority, the authors argue that, “until recently” (p. 77), indigenous mayors enjoyed the respect of their people and were largely free from corruption. Contentious relations with and accusations of corruption against Maya authorities noted in historical studies of Guatemala and Mexico suggest otherwise.

Grounded in anthropological methods instead of documentary evidence (or oral histories) and focused on contemporary conditions with an eye toward the future, the volume may be less useful for historians than other scholars. Yet the collaborative approach and quality contributions by undergraduate students will make it a powerful teaching tool in courses about Guatemala and Latin America more broadly.

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From Enron to Evo: Pipeline Politics, Global Environmentalism, and Indigenous Rights in Bolivia. By DERRICK HINDERY. Foreward by SUSANNA B. HECHT.

First Peoples: New Directions in Indigenous Studies. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013. Photographs. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xxiii, 303 pp. Cloth, \$55.00.

From Enron to Evo captures the central conflict and question that has defined Latin America for much of its history: What should “development” look like? And who should decide? On the one hand, Latin American oligarchies, multinational corporations, and the US government have continued to push a neoliberal orthodoxy that relies on an almost religious commitment to capitalist markets in order to preserve pro-growth models of development. At the core of this project lies the extraction of hydrocarbons on an increasingly massive scale, a process that both feeds global consumption and ensures the continued flow of profit from Latin America to the global North. On the other hand, the Left has robustly challenged this model, instead placing the continued extraction of

hydrocarbons under the control of a progressive state in order to ensure that energy sector royalties remain in the region. Natural resources are still extracted, often through partnerships with foreign capital, but profits fund social programs, investment, and domestic development instead of lining the coffers of multinational corporations. Nevertheless, despite rejecting the more orthodox elements of neoliberalism and adopting rhetoric about the environment and indigenous rights, the Left neoextractivist state shares a broad commitment to using natural resources to fuel pro-growth development.

Indigenous peoples have, in a sense, articulated a third path, which is precisely why their collective challenge to development has proven so threatening to elites across the political spectrum. They have not simply resisted the theft or destruction of their land (hardly a new struggle in Latin America), but they have articulated an alternative—broadly understood as “living well”—that fundamentally challenges large-scale resource extraction, consumerism, and pro-growth models of development.

From Enron to Evo explores this complex and contradictory dynamic through what is arguably its most interesting expression, Evo Morales’s Bolivia. Can a “pro-indigenous” government, when faced not only with pressures from domestic elites and multinational corporations but also an ideological commitment to funding progressive social programs, respect the rights of indigenous peoples and resist the allure of natural resource extraction? The answer, not surprisingly, is largely “no,” but Derrick Hindery’s story is no less interesting because we know the punch line ahead of time.

The book largely focuses on the Cuiabá pipeline and the struggle around its planning, funding, construction, and use. This well-written and well-researched story is horrible in all the ways we might expect, but it contains more than a few interesting twists and turns along the way. Chapter 3 begins with efforts by Enron and Shell to conspire with the Bolivian and US governments to acquire a \$200 million loan and all the necessary support in order to build a 626-kilometer pipeline from Bolivia to Brazil. Intense opposition emerged almost immediately from all the groups one might expect. However, after months of pressure and a commitment by the companies to put \$20 million toward an environmental fund, important international conservationists, particularly the World Wildlife Fund, decided to support the pipeline and effectively put themselves in charge of a multimillion-dollar conservation program that completely excluded indigenous peoples.

The rest of the book examines the fallout from this. What happens after the pipeline is “green-stamped” by international nongovernmental organizations, the Chiquitano Forest Conservation Program is established, and indigenous peoples are left on the outside looking in? Chapter 4 explores efforts by indigenous peoples and their allies to democratize the conservation program itself, insisting on not only transparency in decision making but also a seat at the table. Chapter 5 looks at the process of “consultation” between indigenous communities and advocates of the pipeline as well as efforts by indigenous organizations to increase the amount of compensation received by

communities. Chapter 6 then turns to the struggle over how to evaluate, define, and resolve the quite serious environmental and social damages caused by the project.

The second half of the book widens the lens and looks more broadly at development, indigenous rights, and resource extraction under the presidency of Evo Morales. In the end, the strategies of Morales and of indigenous peoples are not fundamentally different, even if the two parties come to the struggle from quite different locations. Both make pragmatic decisions within the context of severely limited options. The Morales administration pursues hydrocarbons in order to generate a surplus that could benefit the country as a whole, while trying to limit both the adverse impacts and political opposition surrounding resource extraction. Indigenous groups also do not oppose oil exploration in the abstract; they simply want to improve the conditions under which it occurs and to obtain as much benefits and compensation as they can from the process. Ultimately, the imbalance of power on a global level ensures that neither the Morales government nor indigenous people are able to determine the path of, let alone benefit from, this development.

From Enron to Evo is a very accessible and important book, one that captures so much of what defines contemporary Latin America. It deserves a wide readership.

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De víctimas a ciudadanos: Memorias de la violencia política en comunidades de la Cuenca del Río Pampas. By EQUIPO PERUANO DE ANTROPOLOGÍA FORENSE. Lima: SINCO Editores, 2012. Plates. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. 159 pp. Paper.

Intimate Enemies: Violence and Reconciliation in Peru. By KIMBERLY THEIDON. Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. Maps. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. xiii, 461 pp. Cloth, \$75.00.

In its 2003 final report, the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission calculated the number of dead from the violence that raged between 1980 and 2000 at 69,280. Even though this was more than double the figure usually cited, some specialists believed that the actual number was even higher. Both the Shining Path and the Peruvian Armed Forces hid or disappeared thousands of victims, and many communities and individuals refused to collaborate with the truth commission. Thus, despite the indefatigable work of the commission members, the report left out entire massacres and countless smaller tragedies. Nonetheless, it denounced with rigor and indignation the violence that spread throughout Peru and the shocking silence about it in Lima and beyond.

These two books examine the era of violence and its aftermath. This is not easy reading: gruesome sexual violence, paralyzing personal guilt, and heartbreaking family separations are among the major themes. Both books respectfully and skillfully explore how the primary victims of the violence (the indigenous peasantry of the south-central Andes, in the Ayacucho region) understand the period and seek justice. Both contribute

to these efforts as well as the more scholarly examination of how people, communities, and societies remember, forget, and forgive.

De víctimas a ciudadanos studies three communities. In Colcabamba, people from a nearby town assassinated nine people accused of supporting the Shining Path and bringing havoc and repression to the area. In Hualla, the Peruvian military disappeared 65 people in 1983–1984. Family members continue to search for their remains. In Morcolla, the Shining Path burned down much of the town in retribution for efforts to expel militants. Twenty-five people died there and many more were injured as Shining Path members set houses on fire and then shot, stabbed, and clubbed those people who tried to escape. The narratives are complex, as the Shining Path had a presence in each town, imposing its totalitarian project and provoking resistance. The military at times aided those who opposed the guerrillas but often lumped all indigenous peasants together as “terrorists.” Villagers were caught not only between those two external forces but also within local divisions exacerbated by the events of the 1980s.

Led by a team of young Ayacucho anthropologists and historians, all bilingual in Quechua and Spanish, *De víctimas a ciudadanos* examines how people remember this era and have attempted to rebuild their personal lives and their communities. In all three cases, relatives continue the search for their loved ones, seeking the truth and a respectable burial. The authors depict the tension prompted by the return of former Shining Path members. People discuss the pain of seeing on a daily basis those who they remember murdering—in one case, beheading—their parents or siblings. One former Shining Path member breaks down in an interview and discusses his guilt and the contempt he suffers every day. “Ricardo” deals with his remorse with little success, reminding himself that he was a teenager when recruited. He has frequent nightmares in which the Shining Path punishes him for betraying the cause. These personal stories underline the intricacy of the events themselves, the contradictory versions about who supported which side, and the shadowy interplay between remembering and forgetting. Through extraordinary research, this book illuminates how people have experienced and understood the violence in the Ayacucho countryside, providing insights into the past and present of an area that those in power so willfully overlook. The one drawback of this book is its brevity: I wanted to read more about each of these three cases and the authors’ conclusions.

Kimberly Theidon has written a longer, more academic text that is engaging, provocative, and germane for discussions about memory and justice. Based on more than a decade of fieldwork, *Intimate Enemies* focuses on the painful aftermath of the conflict. The strongest sections examine the place in society of widows, those who lost their husbands and partners in the war. These people suffer in multiple ways: the disdain of their neighbors, who fear single women or blame them for the era of violence; the absence of labor and support offered by men; and the daily anguish of not knowing what happened to their loved ones. In a cruel irony also underlined in *De víctimas*, those who have returned from the war, primarily supporters of the Shining Path, usually find themselves better off than the widows. Theidon also explores sexual violence, moving the

analysis beyond a narrow definition of rape. The stories are nauseating: captured *senderistas* who were brutalized by dozens of men, women who were raped when approaching the military to ask about their loved ones, and young women who were forced to trade sexual favors for the well-being of their families. The author has important insights on a variety of topics, including health, local understandings of trauma, and the curious role of evangelical churches and their members during and after the conflict.

Theidon convincingly critiques conventional arguments on trauma, violence, shame, and aggression. Moreover, she demonstrates courage and persistence. Few anthropologists worked in the area in the 1990s—when Theidon's research began—and few have posed the painful questions asked here. She is an engaging writer and intrepid researcher. Nonetheless, *Intimate Enemies* would have benefited from better editing. The book's final chapters don't dialogue sufficiently with the initial ones, and Theidon makes minor errors such as deeming Alan García Peru's current president (he left office in 2011).

More broadly, it is curious that in two books so sensitive to questions of power, the identity of the researchers remains obscure. *De víctimas* does not cite a specific author but lists in the acknowledgments the researchers, writers, and collaborators who worked on the project. Theidon relied heavily on assistants. She acknowledges them throughout the text, often describing how they met people in the plaza or interviewed someone after persistent requests. "Juanjo," "Edith," and others conducted many of the interviews (some of them are Quechua speakers), and by the end readers will want to know more about them—not only about their contributions to the project but also, in light of the book's engaging style, what happened to this team after their work with Theidon concluded.

While other scholars have published excellent books in the last decade or so on Ayacucho both before the Shining Path and in the 1980s and 1990s, these two books shift the analysis to the conflict's aftermath. *De víctimas* and *Intimate Enemies* underline the contrast with Southern Cone violence and other Cold War confrontations in the Americas. In these cases, the vast majority of the victims were urban and middle-class, detained, tortured, or disappeared by the military. In Peru, the Shining Path perpetrated more than 50 percent of the killing, and approximately 75 percent of the victims were Quechua speakers. As these two books show, official Peru not only tried to forget these people in the midst of the violence but also continues to overlook and marginalize them. These important publications challenge the state and civil society, including scholars, to pay more attention to and even learn from those who lived through the violence and suffered the most from it.

CHARLES F. WALKER, University of California, Davis

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International and Comparative

Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World: A Global Ecological History.

By GREGORY T. CUSHMAN. Studies in Environment and History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Photographs. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xxii, 392 pp. Cloth, \$99.00.

For too long, historians have failed “to recognize the importance of shit to history” (p. 5). So argues Gregory T. Cushman in this meticulous study of Peruvian guano, the seabirds that produce it, and their impact on global environments. Ambitious in scope, the book’s nine chapters span five centuries and traverse the far reaches of the planet while demonstrating how this untidy product of the upwelling ecosystem off the Peruvian coast helped give rise to industrial agriculture, modern warfare, and the conservationist ideas that continue to shape contemporary environmental debates.

Cushman trails the coveted bird droppings and the technocrats who studied them, from Peru—the focus of his 2003 dissertation—to Europe, Japan, and remote islands of the Pacific. One of his chief aims is to redefine the Pacific world as a realm in which Latin America played a key role and as a space of paramount but overlooked importance for the forging of agro-industrial empires since at least the dawn of the nineteenth century. He takes pains to recognize the contributions of Peruvians, indigenous Pacific Islanders, and the oceanic ecosystem itself to Western colonial and scientific knowledge systems. In exploring the biological power of phosphorous and nitrogen, the nutrients provided by this marine ecosystem, we learn that indigenous Andean peoples long recognized the value of guano deposited on the crescent-shaped Chincha Islands, symbolizing their fertility with terms such as *quillairaca* (“silver vagina” or “the moon’s vagina”). We also learn how formative research experience in the guano islands shaped ornithologist William Vogt’s ideas about ecology and population (the focus of a 2005 article by Cushman) and how his close correspondence with renowned conservationist Aldo Leopold in turn influenced the recommendations Vogt made to the Peruvian government for the ecological management of guano extraction. In tragic contrast to the relative success Peruvian managers enjoyed with guano, however, is the Pacific island of Banaba, where Anglo settlers rapidly dispossessed native peoples and decimated the island in their quest for phosphates to fertilize the nearby colonies of Australia and New Zealand.

Geopolitical battles and dynamic ocean environments drove large-scale changes in Pacific land- and seascapes in enduring ways. Historians have shown how the struggle over nitrates ignited the War of the Pacific, but Cushman explains their importance not only for explosives but also for the emerging chemical industry. More recently, continuing demand for nitrogen and phosphorous fueled the transition to fish meal that has made possible the global aquaculture boom, the so-called Blue Revolution. Throughout the story we also encounter the recurring phenomena of El Niño and La Niña, shifts in oceanic and atmospheric conditions originating in the southeast Pacific Ocean with complex consequences for precipitation and weather conditions across the globe.

Overall, this book is about far more than guano, the commodity. Cushman traces multiple overlapping stories—he elaborates a sevenfold argument in the introduction—and his approach offers a pioneering model for future studies whose subjects cannot be contained by traditional conceptual (or physical) boundaries.

This aptly subtitled “global ecological history” expands upon the notion of interconnectedness inherent in an ecosystem. It effectively weaves together seemingly disparate processes into a chronicle of large-scale environmental change in which scientists and technocrats acted as agents of “neo-ecological imperialism” and from which it was ultimately the meat-hungry consumers of the global North who benefited most. In so doing, Cushman extends Alfred Crosby’s classic 1986 thesis that European-introduced organisms allowed colonial settlements to thrive in temperate New World environments, as well as Stuart McCook’s 2011 article on the “second conquest” of the greater Caribbean, to describe another crucial phase of extraction and exchange in the Pacific aimed at sustaining European-descent populations where they already existed. Within this story the reader encounters a motley crew, among them familiar figures such as mestizo chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega, Prussian naturalist Alexander von Humboldt, and Peruvian ornithologist Enrique Ávila, as well as other unexpected characters, including a cat named Microbe and even members of Cushman’s own family. The result is a provocative example of what global environmental history can be, both broad in its geographical and temporal reach and firmly anchored in local histories and rich archival sources culled from research on several continents.

Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World makes a vital contribution to Peruvian historiography, Pacific world studies, and the history of conservation. While select chapters will be accessible to undergraduates, this book as a whole is most useful to the specialist of global environmental history. Cushman ends with the specter of twenty-first-century environmental challenges, reminding us that, even as we recognize our connection to remote Pacific places and the processes that have transformed them, we must not place undue faith in humans’ ability to use science and technology to fix the damage our industries create.

KRISTIN WINTERSTEEN, University of Houston

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La indianización: Cautivos, renegados, “hommes libres” y misioneros en los confines americanos, s. XVI–XIX. Edited by SALVADOR BERNABÉU, CHRISTOPHE GIUDICELLI, and GILLES HAVARD. Madrid: Ediciones Doce Calles, 2012. Photographs. Illustrations. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. 404 pp. Paper.

Las historias de cautivos, renegados, *coureours de bois* y otros actores sociales ubicados en la frontera de las diferentes zonas periféricas que no estaban bajo el control de las autoridades europeas son el tema central de los diferentes ensayos que componen este libro. Desde la mirada conceptual de la *indianización*, en todos ellos se hacen

reconstrucciones de las dinámicas socioculturales que condujeron el proceso de colonización en los confines de América entre el siglo XVI y el XIX.

La *indianización* fue el concepto bajo el cual Bernabéu, Giudicelli y Havard convocaron a un grupo de investigadores de diferentes nacionalidades, para discutir y rescatar los fenómenos generados en la confrontación sociocultural de la población europea con la población nativa de América, fenómenos “opacados” o poco estudiados por la historiografía clásica. Desde una perspectiva interdisciplinaria, los autores procuraron solventar las ausencias que los conceptos de aculturación y de interculturalidad dejaron en los estudios etnohistóricos.

Los coordinadores del libro hacen su propuesta metodológica en la introducción. Dicha propuesta se ve reforzada, en un primer capítulo, con el debate de José Luis de Rojas sobre los conceptos eje del libro: *indianización y confines*. En la primera sección de la obra, titulada *Indianización por inmersión. De naufragios y cautivos*, Bernabéu y Francisco Gil García presentan historias de naufragos en dos contextos muy diferentes: uno en la costa canadiense del Pacífico a principios del siglo XIX y otro en los arrecifes del naciente Caribe español, este último en un estilo que a veces pareciera corear el discurso “civilizador”. También les acompaña el trabajo de Francisco Javier Sánchez Moreno, enfocado mayormente sobre la documentación que produjeron las relaciones entre México y Estados Unidos para “ayudar” con las incursiones de los comanches, un aspecto ya tratado por otros historiadores. En cambio es interesante y novedoso el análisis etnográfico de las relaciones sociales y de parentesco que hace Joaquín Rivaya-Martínez en su artículo sobre la indianización de cautivos euroamericanos.

Fronteras porosas. Los indianizados en los confines coloniales es el título de la segunda sección del libro, que aborda el tema de los actores sociales de ambos lados del proceso de colonización, quienes vivieron situaciones de transculturación en diferentes regiones de América. El trabajo de Giudicelli en el Tucumán es muy sugestivo porque cuestiona el concepto de indianización y señala que podría “alcanzar un valor heurístico”. En el capítulo de Guida Marques sobre un capitán luso-brasileño se plantea la colonización y la indianización como una relación ambivalente por el papel de intermediario cultural que juega su personaje. La frontera mapuche del centro-sur chileno es abordada por Jimena Paz Obregón Iturra, quien plantea la conveniencia de hablar en plural para designar la variedad de procesos y direcciones que se generaron en el contacto cultural. En la misma línea, pero más audaz, se encuentra el trabajo de Sara Ortelli, que pregunta: ¿quiénes eran los *indianizados* en el Septentrión novohispano? Por su parte, Havard analiza a los *hommes libres*, ex empleados de las compañías de comercio de pieles que vivían como indios; el suyo es un trabajo atractivo porque muestra la fragilidad de las identidades al exponer la atracción sociocultural que se generó en ambos sentidos, atracción que hizo viable una sociedad conformada por diversos grupos socioétnicos marginales que en ocasiones estaban contra el poder colonial.

En la tercera sección sobre *Misión e indianización* se estudian las misiones como instituciones civilizatorias que suscitaron la *indianización de los indios*. En este apartado se encuentra el trabajo de Carlos D. Paz sobre el proceso misional de los jesuitas en las

reducciones del Gran Chaco. Guillermo Wilde, por su parte, aborda las interacciones culturales e históricas que desdibujan los límites entre *apropiación* e *indianización* entre los indios y los misioneros del Paraguay, señalando acertadamente la paradoja que resulta de la *hispanización* de los indios. Y, como caso extremo de una forma de adaptación inevitable, se presenta el trabajo de Frédéric Laugrand sobre un *misionero-chamán* en el ártico canadiense.

La cuarta y última sección, titulada *Indianización e identidad: el caso de Canadá*, versa sobre los procesos identitarios colectivos, la indianización y el Estado. Aquí, el trabajo de Alain Beaulieu analiza la participación de la población originaria en la construcción del Estado-nación canadiense. Por su parte, el ensayo de Denys Delâge reconstruye la interacción cultural entre colonos y amerindios en la conformación de la identidad canadiense, especificando por qué no es culturalmente igual a la del resto de América.

El libro en su conjunto desborda el título y el propósito del volumen. Aunque la mayoría de los temas no son totalmente novedosos, tienen el atractivo de estar reunidos en un mismo volumen, guardar un sentido crítico sobre los conceptos y contar con amplia bibliografía y algunas nuevas fuentes documentales.

Si el título y propósito del libro quedan desbordados es también porque los autores cuestionan el concepto de indianización, dándole vida y movimiento. En última instancia, el libro constituye un aporte historiográfico porque abona a los estudios de historia cultural, enriqueciéndolos no sólo con la mirada antropológica, sino con un análisis metodológico de los fenómenos en diferentes direcciones y en sentido de ida y vuelta, y de los actores sociales intermedios, invisibilizados anteriormente por el discurso de una historia colonizada.

LETICIA REINA, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia

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The Plan de San Diego: Tejano Rebellion, Mexican Intrigue. By CHARLES H. HARRIS III and LOUIS R. SADLER. *The Mexican Experience.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013. Photographs. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. xvi, 338 pp. Paper, \$45.00.

The Plan de San Diego, a 1915 manifesto that proposed a rebellion against US rule in the American Southwest, has attracted sustained scholarly attention since the 1950s. The uprising associated with the Plan began as a series of raids on ranches, irrigation works, and railroads by ethnic Mexicans and quickly developed into a full-blown regional rebellion, in which a small guerrilla army battled local posses, Texas Rangers, and the thousands of federal soldiers dispatched to quell the violence. In response, vigilantes and the Rangers led a far bloodier counterinsurgency that included the indiscriminate harassment of ethnic Mexicans, forcible relocation of rural residents, and mass executions. This episode was recognized at the time as part of the wider unrest, violence, and surveillance brought to the United States–Mexico border by the Mexican Revolution.

This latest addition to the corpus of work on the Plan musters new evidence in support of an argument that the authors have made in a variety of publications, beginning

with a 1978 article in this journal: that the uprising was enabled, supported, and manipulated by Mexican revolutionary leader Venustiano Carranza in order to gain diplomatic recognition from US President Woodrow Wilson and thereby to cement his position as the dominant power in revolutionary Mexico. As the authors write, Carranza “played Woodrow Wilson like a violin in 1915” (p. 262), using the uprising as a cudgel to secure recognition for his regime as the *de facto* government of Mexico. They are among the first scholars to examine the papers of Agustín Garza, a close associate of generals in northeastern Mexico affiliated with Carranza. They use an exhaustive investigation of these papers, as well as the records of the US military, the State Department, and the Mexican government, to document the considerable support that Garza funneled to the revolt in the form of weapons and personnel. Those scholars interested in the Garza papers and the connections between Carranza’s allies and the Plan de San Diego will find this to be a thorough and detailed guide, much more so than any other work on the Plan de San Diego.

Satisfactory and potentially useful as archival recovery, the book is not successful as a piece of historical scholarship. The authors cling tenaciously to a simplistic understanding of historical interpretation, in which if an event can be described accurately in one way it cannot also be analyzed from a different vantage. Since they conclude that Carranza fomented the uprising, any consideration of the local origins of unrest, which other studies have located in the dispossession and disfranchisement of Mexican Americans and which their own evidence suggests prompted numerous local residents to join the revolt, is dismissed as politically correct pandering. (Full disclosure: this reviewer is singled out as one of the most egregious purveyors of such silliness.) It is as though a study documenting the extensive and critical French financial and naval support for the American Revolution concluded that any examination of the motives or ideology of the revolutionaries was simply foolish. Could it not be the case that an event had both an international and a local dimension, that to explore one facet does not require the dismissal of another?

The book’s central argument about Carranza’s manipulation of the uprising remains unproven. Harris and Sadler take Garza’s statements as straightforward reflections of historical truth, rather than as efforts to secure what he wanted, whether it be support for the uprising or—decades later—a federal pension warranted by loyal service to the revolution. Convincing evidence of the success of Carranza’s supposed strategy of using the uprising would have to come from records of deliberation within the Wilson administration, but Harris and Sadler present no such evidence and seem to have consulted no such sources. The voluminous secondary literature on Wilson and his validation of national self-determination would suggest more fundamental reasons why Carranza more than any other Mexican leader would have appealed to Wilson as a modernizing democrat respectful of the prerogatives of private property and the benefits of open markets. But the authors do not even gesture at this wider context for their central argument.

A final shortcoming of the book lies in its tone and moral attitude toward its subject. Contemporary observers, including army officers and local Anglo-Americans hostile to the uprising, were appalled by the slaughter of ethnic Mexicans perpetrated in the name of suppressing the revolt. Texas Rangers threatened J. T. Canales, at the time the only

Mexican American state representative, with death for trying to expose these killings. The authors' only reflection on this white supremacist terrorism is to ridicule Canales because his wife conveyed his fear to the Speaker of the House of Representatives (p. 249).

This reader concludes that the book's historical sensibility and moral compass do an injustice to the events that it recounts.

BENJAMIN H. JOHNSON, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

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British Diplomacy and US Hegemony in Cuba, 1898–1964. By CHRISTOPHER HULL.
New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. Illustration. Tables. Notes. Bibliography.
Index. ix, 291 pp. Cloth, \$92.00.

Christopher Hull has discovered that, whereas Cuban diplomatic records remain closed to investigation and US records only occasionally mention British involvement, British governmental records offer an “uninterrupted and revealing” source of information about British diplomacy and policy toward Cuba, with many insights about the relationship between the United States and Cuba (p. 14). Working through the files of the Foreign Office as well as other British governmental records, Hull offers in *British Diplomacy and US Hegemony in Cuba, 1898–1964* an engaging new perspective on the history of Cuban foreign relations, an important contribution to a historiography too often fixated narrowly on the Havana–Washington axis.

The narrative proceeds chronologically from perfidious Albion's seizure of Havana in the Seven Years' War to Britain's gradual acceptance of the “natural hegemony” of the United States in its own sphere” (p. 24). Chapters 2 and 3 describe waning British influence in the island as US investment overtook British investment during the First World War. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 offer new insights into the tumultuous period from 1929 to 1952, when Cuba experienced, in 1933, a populist revolution and a series of anti-imperialist labor policies threatened the viability of foreign, including British, companies on the island. Chapters 7, 8, and 9 examine British responses to Fulgencio Batista's military coup in 1952, Fidel Castro's revolution in 1959, and the events that followed, including the Bay of Pigs debacle and the Cuban Missile Crisis.

The study focuses on whether British policy in Cuba was determined independently or confined to the “margins of US acquiescence” (p. 90). Hull finds that British diplomats most often chose to defer to the United States' policy preferences. Yet it was not passive acquiescence but rather caution and alertness to opportunity that defined their method. These diplomats balanced advocacy for British interests in the island against the possibility and consequences of offending US interests. There were many noteworthy exceptions to a policy of acquiescence, when Britain challenged or deviated from US designs. The balancing and the exceptions reveal a complex and delicate triangular web of interests that underwent considerable transformation from the end of Spanish rule to the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962.

The earliest clash of interests emerged in the first few years after the US occupation. British diplomats cautiously discouraged Cuba from signing the treaty of trade reciprocity with the United States, seeking instead to open the island to free trade with an Anglo-Cuban most-favored-nation treaty. The effort failed as the State Department objected to British interference and the Cuban Congress doubted whether a treaty signed with another foreign power would be tolerated by the United States. Tensions between British economic interests and US political preferences in the island recurred over the decades and reached a head with the fall of Batista and the rise of Castro. The US imposition of an arms embargo on the Batista regime clashed with Britain's reliance on trade and shipping. Criticizing the embargo as "clumsy and tactless," Britain sold 17 fighter planes to Cuba (p. 150). When Batista's government imploded before all the planes had been delivered, Britain shipped the remaining planes to the Castro regime, considering it harmful to its interests to halt delivery and unwise to become embroiled in the US-Cuban conflict. The contrast between the United States' fear of communism and Britain's principled commitment to open trade kept tensions alive and defined the triangular relationship in the formative years of Castro's revolutionary regime.

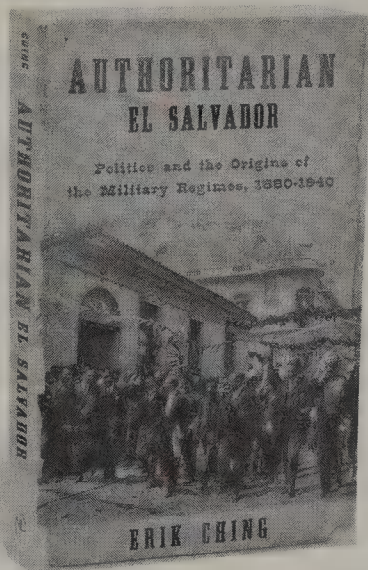
The words and observations of British diplomats, acting as a third party, offer many fascinating insights into the complex relationship between Cuba and the United States. On several occasions, for example, during the revolutions of 1933 and 1959, British diplomats foresaw mistakes made by the State Department through the lens of their experiences in Egypt. As early as 1960, the Foreign Office warned that "excessive pressure" from the United States could have "a counterproductive effect" (p. 167). Similarly, in 1933, observing Sumner Welles's handpicked replacement for President Gerardo Machado, an officer in the Foreign Office commented, "The Americans have now, by inducing President Machado to relax his grip, set in motion a revolutionary force which will not easily be checked" (p. 82). Shortly afterward, the State Department—but not the Foreign Office—was taken by surprise as Cuba was gripped by a sergeants' mutiny and a populist revolution.

If there is weakness in the book, it is that these insights appear ad hoc in an analysis of British diplomatic acquiescence to US interests. A systematic examination of the insights that British diplomats, experienced in the administration of a vast empire, could offer to the American imperial experiment would have made the narrative less predictable, and it would have more thoroughly exploited the new dimensions that the study of the British perspective has to offer. This, however, should not detract from the work's valuable accomplishments. *British Diplomacy and US Hegemony in Cuba* masterfully "dilute[s] the [usual] narrow US-Cuban focus" and offers a fresh and indispensable new look into twentieth-century Cuban history (p. 14).

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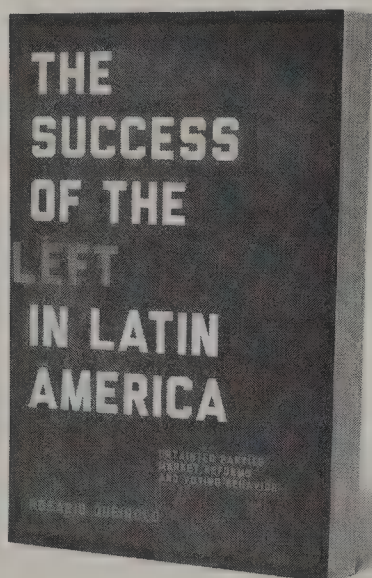
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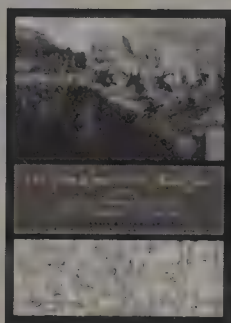
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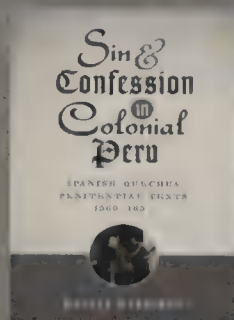
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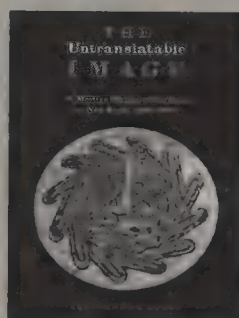
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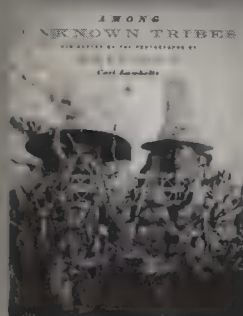
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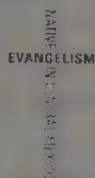
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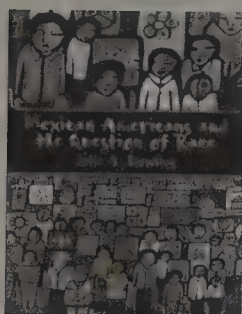
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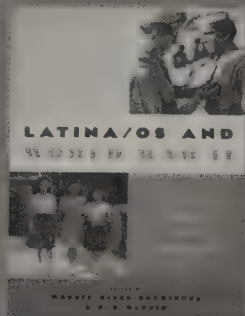


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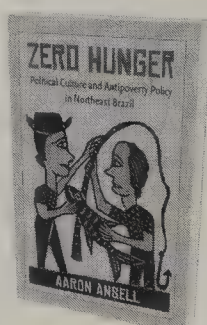
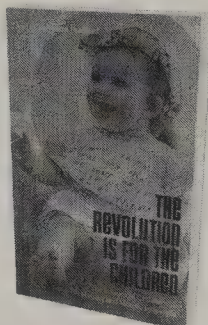
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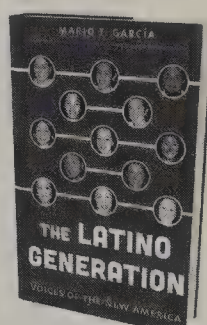
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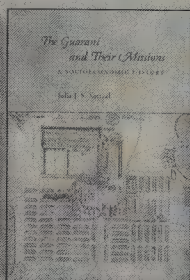
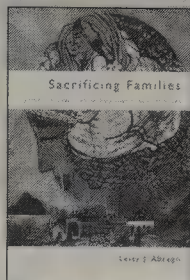
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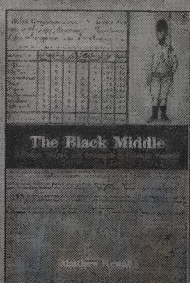
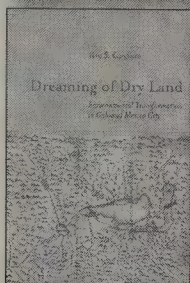
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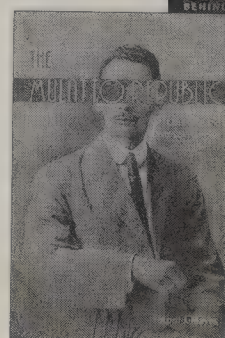
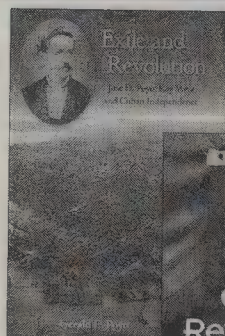
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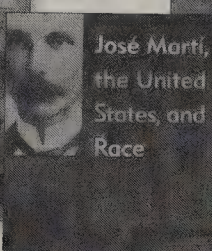
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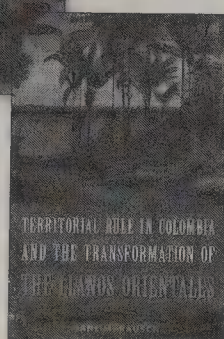
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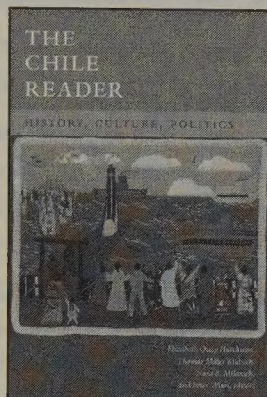


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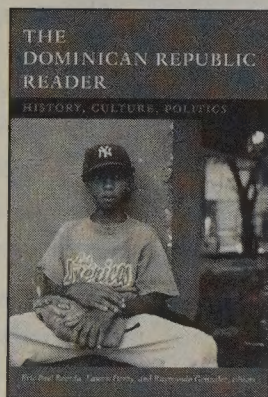
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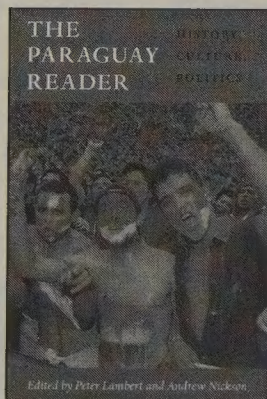
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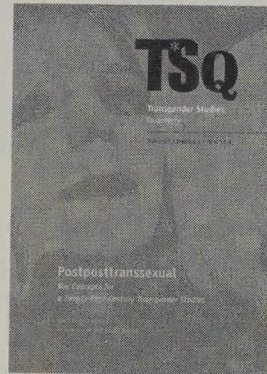
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Cover: Prisoners at the Ushuaia penal colony building railways amid the snow, 1933. From Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, caja 65, carpeta 3304, no. 119765.